THE NEW PACIFIC

BRITISH POLICY AND GERMAN AIMS

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THE NEW PACIFIC

BRITISH POLICY AND GERMAN AIMS

BY

C. BRUNSDON FLETCHER

WITH A PREFACE BY

VISCOUNT BRYCE, O.M.

AND A FOREWORD BY

THE RIGHT HON. W. M. HUGHES

PRIME MINISTER OF AUSTRALIA

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1917

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TO

SIR JAMES FAIRFAX

WHOSE SERVICE AND SYMPATHY THROUGH A LONG LIFE

HAVE DONE SO MUCH TO HELP

IN VOICING THE OPINIONS OF THE PEOPLE

AND IN DEVELOPING THE RESOURCES OF AUSTRALIA

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

It is reasonable that the position in the Pacific should be discussed, now that German possessions there for some time have been successfully administered by Australasian officials. International law and the terms of capitulation no doubt have been controlling factors; but the people of Australia and New Zealand look upon the German New Guinea Protectorate and German Samoa with very different eyes to-day from what they did in the beginning of 1914. Their representatives hold these possessions for the Allies, but they have begun to think of them now as British. It is impossible to discuss a Pacific thrown back into the old conditions. It is a new Pacific.

But this book is more history than forecast or appeal; and the reader is offered an Australasian view of British policy rather than an indication of future proposals or demands. The idea is to show what is remembered and

appraised, hardly what is likely to be expected or required. All through the book Germany's aims upon Australia and upon the Pacific have been kept in mind, and indeed have been made prominent. To review the events of half a century is to realise how far-reaching German plans and organisation have been; and much research and many conversations with principals have necessarily gone to the writing of the most important chapters.

After the manuscript of this book had been despatched from Australia the Commonwealth Interstate Commission began an enquiry into the trade of the Pacific; and the evidence so far obtained bears out all that has been charged against Germany in the course of my argument. Equally interesting in another direction are the particulars of shares in Australian Companies held by Germans which are now being forcibly transferred from these shareholders to the Public Trustee, to be held till the War is over. The range of interest is very wide, covering all the best securities, and only leaving out those enterprises which might prove to be of ephemeral value. Germany was apparently quite sure of the future in Australia after the Great War, and many significant facts will be disclosed before the cleaning up is completed.

My special acknowledgments are due to Dr. George Brown, whose library and fine private collection of South Sea Island curios have been at my disposal, and whose wonderful memory and unrivalled experience have been invaluable aids in correcting the several conclusions. Dr. Brown has read the book through in manuscript more than once, and again I am his debtor. My thanks must also be expressed to Miss Maria Fison for sending me her father's letter-books and diary. They have proved of great assistance in dealing with the essential parts of the history of the Pacific.

To the members of the firm of Messrs. John Fairfax & Sons, proprietors of the *Sydney Morning Herald*, I am indebted for much encouragement and for full facility in the use of matter embodied so freely in this book. Its germ was a series of articles upon the Pacific published in that journal last year, in which the principal points were indicated but not elaborated. Further back, however, the suggestion of the Rev. James Colwell, F.R.Hist.S., which resulted in my contribution of the section on Literature to his recent book, *A Century in the Pacific*, must be given its due place. The interest taken in these expressions of opinion has prompted the present expansion of enquiry;

but the columns of the journal with which I have been for so many years identified have been the principal source of inspiration.

C. BRUNSDON FLETCHER.

SYDNEY,
October 17, 1916.

PREFACE

BY

VISCOUNT BRYCE

THOUGH world history is now being made on a tremendous scale the minor events of this time need not therefore be neglected, for they also have their significance, and some paths of story that now seem to be by-ways may hereafter turn out to be high-ways. There is therefore good reason for the publication of this book, in which Mr. Brunsdon Fletcher sets before us many interesting and useful facts regarding the changes that have passed in the Western Pacific during the last sixty years. He modestly remarks that his book contains rather the materials for a narrative, than a narrative in the proper sense, that it is in fact a series of sketches rather than a finished picture. Most of us, however, know so little about the island groups of the Pacific, except from missionary narratives and from romances, like those of Robert Louis Stevenson, that the recent action of the white peoples in the islands

is practically a new subject, and one which well deserves to be dealt with. The same kind of struggle and competition for trade and territory between European Powers which we have all watched and studied in Africa has been visible on a smaller scale in the Western Pacific, and has not yet reached its end. Some remarkable men have played a part in these events, and among them two distinguished Britons, whose doings are recorded in some of the best chapters of the volume.

Though Tasman discovered New Zealand in 1644, and Captain Cook visited some of the southern groups one hundred and thirty years later, there was little contact between Polynesian natives and Europeans before the beginning of the nineteenth century. Thereafter there came upon the scene two sets of persons who established relations with the aborigines which affected the islands so materially as ultimately to bring a third force, the Powers of Europe, upon the scene. These sets of persons were the missionaries and the traders. The missionaries were early in the field. Among them there were many men of the highest courage and the most complete devotion to duty. John Williams, who was killed by natives on the island of Erromanga, in revenge for outrages committed by the crew

of a European ship not long before, is one of those best remembered and honoured among the earlier, as is Bishop Patteson among the later, of those who risked their lives in preaching the Gospel, and deeply impressed the islanders by their simple goodness. Simultaneously trading ships, at first chiefly British, sailed to and fro, selling goods and buying copra for the European market; sometimes also, in the middle of last century, kidnapping natives to be taken to work in European settlements. Between the missionaries and the traders there was often friction, whenever the former suspected the latter of ill-using or tricking the natives, or when the trader thought that the missionary, out of jealousy, prejudiced the natives against him. All these things drew the eyes of England and France, both of which perceived that the disorder due to the uncontrolled action of European vessels would make some kind of policing necessary. England just forestalled France by annexing New Zealand in 1840. France, after some quarrelling, succeeded in securing Tahiti and the other Society Islands a little later. Presently, a powerful German company, organised by a certain Theodor Weber, of whose plans and achievements much is said in this book, began about fifty years ago to conduct

trade on a larger and more systematic scale. It obtained the support of Bismarck, and aroused in the German commercial world that desire for colonial acquisitions in the Pacific, in playing up to which the powerful Minister was led on, though personally caring little about the matter, till Germany ultimately secured a large part of New Guinea, all Samoa except one small isle (Tutuila) which fell to the United States (its only possession in the Southern Pacific), and a number of islands in the west, some of them, like New Britain, of considerable value. The trading company I have referred to was the chief agent in acquiring what it called rights in many of these islands, and such private rights, as has happened all over the world, ended by being made the basis of political claims.

Much of this history gathers round the lives of the two eminent men already referred to. Dr. George Brown is a fine type of the strong, clear-headed, wide-minded missionary, who takes broad and sympathetic views of native character and of what Christianity can do for aboriginal peoples. While he was preaching the Gospel he was also studying native languages, native folk-lore, native customs, accumulating a wonderful collection of objects illustrating native art and superstition, and collecting specimens of the

island plants to be sent to Europe. Neither did he forget to watch and to indicate to the Australian public the political projects of Germany. His recently published Autobiography is a singularly interesting record of a very long and well-spent life, full of adventure, and now crowned with universal respect. Sir William MacGregor, the other distinguished pioneer here commemorated, after a varied career in West Africa, Fiji, New Guinea, Newfoundland, and Queensland, retired three years ago from the Governorship of the last-named colony. He has been a model of what a Colonial Governor should be, for to the qualities of firmness, tact, judgment, and single-minded uprightness he has added a wealth of scientific knowledge in the fields of medicine and of many branches of natural history, which enabled him to render conspicuous services to the colonies in which his work lay from time to time, and to suggest to the ministers or other officials of those colonies valuable improvements to be carried out by them. The tribute paid by Mr. Brunsdon Fletcher to these two remarkable men is all the more welcome, because services rendered in the outlying parts of the Empire often receive at home less recognition than they deserve.

Notices of other interesting figures, such as Sir

George Grey, Mr. Fison, and R. L. Stevenson, whose memory is cherished in Samoa as well as in Scotland, occur in various historical chapters; while in those which close the book there are useful discussions of, or references to, not a few topics of current political importance, such as the tariff relations of the Pacific Islands to Australia, the question of labour and how it is to be furnished to the larger islands for their industrial development, the possibilities, for good and for evil, of the mixture of the aboriginal Polynesian and Melanesian races with Indian coolies who have been brought to work in Fiji, and with Chinese, who have found their way into many of the groups, and have already in some, as for instance, in Tahiti, become so commingled with the aborigines as to be bringing into existence what is virtually a new race. These isles of the Pacific are perhaps the most romantic and beautiful in their landscapes of all the islands that anywhere dot the surface of the oceans, places in which mere existence is a delight. They are tiny indeed compared with the vast spaces of sea around them. Yet, small as they are, they raise problems of the utmost complexity, which need much wisdom for their solution.

The political questions which will arise at the

end of the war regarding the disposal of the lands which Germany has acquired within the last forty years, and over all of which the British flag is now floating, constitute too large and too delicate a subject to be dealt with in these few prefatory words. But it is a subject on which the contents of this book materially bear. Australians and New Zealanders have long watched with anxiety the action and the plans of the German Government. They conceive, to use a colloquial phrase, that "its room is better than its company." Among the Governors who have served Germany, I know of at least one upright man who has wished to rule the islands with justice and fairness all round. But neither in the Pacific nor elsewhere has the German power been found a pleasant or a trustworthy neighbour. Mr. Fletcher hopes that it will be eliminated from these regions; and the view he expresses may be taken to be that held by the great majority of his Australian fellow-countrymen.

FOREWORD

BY

THE RIGHT HON. W. M. HUGHES

Prime Minister of Australia

This is a book of the War, only made possible by Germany's perfidy; and it is substantially Australia's case against Germany. I am not ready to commend it as a piece of sensational writing, because the truth about the Pacific has many facets, and the sensational writer always has his chance. But the history of the last forty years in this quarter of the globe is full of extraordinary interest because Germany has been brewing her devil's broth for the benefit of civilisation in an ocean which sooner or later must become the balancing centre of the world's trade and development. This is not rhetoric but cold truth. Germany laid her plans as carefully against Australia as she did against France and Belgium, against Russia and Servia, and

against Great Britain herself in the final cast. It is comparing small things with great, I admit, but Australia became a fine goal for German ambitions in these wide Southern Seas; and while she had a large contempt for Australians, both as to numbers and readiness for war, their continent was necessary in the round of a vast purpose. Holland has always been a German appanage in the eyes of Berlin; Holland's colonies have consequently been marked as German spoil; and what so convenient as Australia with its temperate and tropical climates upon which to centre a new Colonial Empire?

Only since those fateful days of August 1914 have we begun to put our facts together and to read from the new standpoint of war the page of history now sought to be unfolded in this book. But for the War it would have been impossible for Dr. George Brown, the veteran missionary of the South Seas, to open his mind on German policy in the past or to discuss the bearings of the war with Germany upon the future. It has impressed me to find that the principal years of a life of astonishing enterprise were spent in German spheres of activity. Dr. Brown was in Samoa for fifteen years when German traders were preparing the way for final German control; and then he left

immediately for New Britain to open that road for the white man along which Germany has since travelled, and which she appropriated. His story is undoubtedly worth telling, and the writer of this book has given him the prominence he deserves. But in these days the work of Sir William MacGregor appeals specially to the people of Australia, because it has made foundations for their claims against the peace which is surely coming and which will settle for good the new policy of the Pacific. He also has been given due prominence. These two men alone survive from a band of pioneers who have been doing great things for the British Empire since Captain Cook first threaded his way around our coasts and commended in many island groups the white man to natives who were prepared to kill him at sight. Their story is inextricably woven with that of the continuous struggle of Australia against a Germany ever growing more callous and cunning; and they are put into proper relation therewith, for the first time as far as I know, in this effort to state a case against a world piracy.

My own share in the discovery of the extent of Germany's designs upon Australia and the Pacific is not given by the author for a very good reason—it is still incomplete—and during

the last two years much of the fighting has necessarily been done out of sight. Yet I may be permitted to say that the work of freeing Australia from Germany's grip has been like operating at a dentist's chair, or rather like cutting the tentacles of an octopus with blows from an axe, always to find that while life lasts the creature can cling. Australian metals have been so far freed that the way is opening for new enterprises in reduction, smelting, and marketing; but the end is still to be sought in a greater effort to develop the mineral resources of this continent for the benefit of peaceful industries, and not to feed the grinding machinery of war. Perhaps the hardest thing to do is to get rid of Germany in so many other existing channels of enterprise and industry in Australia. This is the land of sunshine and abounding life, where error grows freely and dies quickly, and where freedom is a wonderful development of the old British liberty. Men have been able to say and do things, impossible in other lands without causing explosions of enormous wrecking power. As I write, the ruthless Prussian spirit is working against the true Australian love of liberty and progress, and it is being fed from Germany. Strife is being fomented; but the disappointment Germany

experienced when Australia stood for the British Empire first, last, and all the time, will find a fellow as her many machinations are unmasked. She is doing her worst upon us to-day, and she will not fail to try again to-morrow. Our business now is to foil her, and to keep on until she is finally defeated. Thus the fight in the Pacific has only been transferred to the Australian continent. All I ask of the readers of this book is to believe its author when he urges that for nearly half a century Australia has been faced by Germany in the ocean which washes her shores, and that long before the War she recognised an enemy in the hungry Teuton.

Now a word as to authorship. The book is substantially a statement of historical truth, as far as I can see in the hurried moments of a strenuous campaign, though with some of its conclusions I hardly agree. The author and I have not agreed upon many things, but at any rate we have tried to do our duty according to our lights. This momentary joining of hands is for the larger purpose of Empire. The occasion calls for co-operation in the fullest measure, and I hail anything which will serve a common cause. But it is only fair to note that while a book must depend for acceptance upon what it contains or offers, much depends

on the person behind it. The author in this case is a representative Australian journalist. He is English-born, but his most impressionable years were spent in New Zealand, and as a boy he was brought into contact with those who were intimately concerned in the Islands, and who knew the Pacific in some of its reaches like an open book. He comes of missionary stock; and family relationships with Dr. George Brown—himself a resident in New Zealand in earlier years—have given him special access to stores of information not open to the public. But the author has spent twenty years in Queensland, part of the time as editor of its principal daily paper; and there he learned more of Germany's methods and ways than anywhere else. This part of Australia's tropical and semi-tropical heritage has been a special hunting-ground for Germans spying out the land; and the gospel of *Deutschland über Alles* has been preached there even to men in editorial sanctums. Years before the War came it was possible to discern the signs; and the author of *The New Pacific* was long convinced of the German peril. It was in Queensland that Sir William MacGregor's work began to attract general attention, and year after year discerning journalists discovered in him the type of man

upon whom the great legends are based. It was inevitable that Sir William's annual reports and his visits to Brisbane to give an account of his work to the Queensland Government as representing Australia should bear fruit; but how great the crop has been only a Life of the first Governor of New Guinea will show. The qualification for writing the present book has been completed in the author by several years of later service upon the oldest paper in Australia; and his contact with men operating in, and his study of things bearing upon, the Pacific have been constant. I am quite satisfied that the work now offered has been done conscientiously if not completely, and I commend it to all who desire that the coming Peace Conference shall be a satisfactory one.

W. M. HUGHES.

SYDNEY,
September 19, 1916.

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CHAPTER I

GERMANY'S TRUE SPIRIT

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BISMARCK has many memorials, but Germany sought to give him one in the Pacific which should last longer than marble or the gilded monuments of princes. The Bismarck Archipelago, as the name of a great group of islands, represents this intention, but there is more in it than appears. This is to be found in the spirit that will deny rights in discovery and nomenclature, and the German attitude towards other nations is well illustrated in this part of the German Colonial Empire now in British possession. The Archipelago contains in the two largest islands, New Britain and New Ireland, names which show British exploring activity, but

these have been changed (since annexation by Germany in 1884) to Neu Pommern and Neu Mecklenberg. This in itself is significant, and a protest has been entered by Great Britain in that her maps ever since have retained the old names while giving also the German names. British cartographers do not cease to exclaim at another piece of German discourtesy, this time to France, in extending the Bismarck monument. Blanche Bay is an important feature in the Bismarck Archipelago, situated in New Britain where New Ireland approaches it; and the capital, Herbertshohe, has been placed upon its shores under the shadow of a mountain 3000 feet high which dominates the landscape. It is a leading mark for navigators, though somewhat masked by the range behind. When the first white man concerned in the welfare of the natives landed at Blanche Bay in 1875, he was very much impressed by this great sentinel set among the islands, and found that its name was Mount Beautemps-Beaupré. The old gazetteers of the Pacific show that it had also impressed some exploring and enterprising Frenchman, who named it for the honour and glory of France, after one of her hydrographers who died in 1854 at the age of nearly ninety. By the courtesy of nations this action was accepted and recorded. The name

was a warrant. By international usage it should stand to the credit of France as securely as Bougainville in the Solomons or La Perouse in Botany Bay, Captain Cook's first port in Australia. To-day that mountain is known as Varzin, the name of Bismarck's country-seat in Pomerania. When Dr. George Brown was in London just after German annexation in 1886, he was asked by the Hydrographer-General to call at Somerset House to look at the charts of these Islands, where his greatest triumphs as a missionary had been won, and he found the officials still indignant that Beautemps-Beaupré should have been banished from the index of New Britain names. It was an insult directed in the first place at France, but the civilised world was flouted; and this is typical of a great deal that has happened in the Pacific since the German flag was flown there as a sign of sovereignty. The act was official, and must have received Imperial sanction; but Bismarck was never more truly the ruthless Prussian than when he became a party to the outrage.

The Bismarck memorial, however, is significant of a change of policy on the part of the Iron Chancellor. It was a surrender as well as a change; and the way of the German trader in the Pacific is indicated thereby. After the

defeat of France in 1870, a Colonial Party arose in Germany with world Empire in effect the principal plank of its platform. Bismarck had no place for it in his own schemes, and insisted that the consolidation of the Empire at home was work enough for him. He could see the dangers of such a policy of adventure, and right up to 1884 assured Great Britain that Germany had no designs upon the Pacific. He would probably have scorned the imputation that his was the way of the trader, and he might even have endorsed the aphorism that "the German trader has ever been the pedlar and not the pioneer of civilisation, the follower of the camp and not the leader in the van."[1] But, then, Bismarck was a Prussian who preferred force to the tricks of trade, and to whom might was not only right but very good business. He had little sympathy, we may imagine, with the Hamburg merchants who went to the Pacific about 1857[2] and founded the firm of John Caesar Godeffroy & Son, whose successors and friends later on did so much to bring forward and make fruitful the policy of a Colonial Empire. But like the great opportunist he was, when it was clear that the German people were determined, he used all his

[1] *Times*, Lit. Supt., Nov. 18, 1915.
[2] *Blue Book Samoa*, 1885-1889, p. 63.

finesse and exerted all his strength to extend the Empire. It may be that this far-seeing man did dream of world dominion when he laid his plans against France, but they were not based upon trade, though they did include a great navy. Lord Salisbury realised this when as Lord Robert Cecil he discussed in 1863 the Danish Duchies and the policy of Prussia. He said: "The National party desires above all things that Germany should be a great naval power; the dismemberment of Denmark is essential to that end";[1] and when the theft of Schleswig-Holstein was made a little later his forecast was verified. The Kiel Canal had become possible, while the rest since has been easy. But in those years the Hamburg merchants were true to their instincts in that they could see an opening for trade in the vast Pacific; though not until France had been torn and humiliated was the thought of possession given head and wings. Bismarck may have been thinking in those far-off days of an omnipotent navy and a broken British Empire, but he was too wary to travel fast even after 1870; and only when his hands were finally forced did he proceed to make his dreams come true.

The story of the German trader has peculiar

[1] Quoted by Lord Cromer in the *Spectator*, April 15, 1916.

interest for the thoughtful Australian who has been watching developments in his own waters so long. Miss Gordon-Cumming had something to say about the firm of Godeffroy & Son as far back as 1878, for then the ambitions born of 1870 were beginning to bear fruit. A manager built on Bismarck's lines had appeared, named Theodor Weber, who had entered Godeffroy's service in Hamburg as a lad and had reached Samoa in 1861, but who gradually obtained control. Miss Gordon-Cumming's indictment of the firm then responding to Weber's genius for organisation was quite definite and very searching. "The house of Godeffroy's of Hamburg," she said, "were the Graballs of the Pacific. They were unscrupulous in all their ways. They supplanted other traders and secured their own footing by artfully fostering the intertribal disputes, which were ever smouldering among the Samoans, and then liberally supplying the combatants with arms and ammunition from their own arsenal at Liége (Belgium). For these useful imports they accepted payment in broad tracts of the most fertile lands in Samoa."[1] Such, in a sentence or two, is part of the charge of a shrewd observer against a firm of German traders whose activities ranged from Cochin China to Valparaiso, with

[1] *A Lady's Cruise in a French Man-of-War*, p. 80.

Samoa midway, and whose headquarters were at Apia. In 1878 these people, under Weber's inspiration, had established centres all over the Pacific, and had absorbed most of its trade. Later on the firm collapsed, failing for a million sterling, but it was revived as a great syndicate; and its new name was *Deutsche Handels- und Plantagen-Gesellschaft der Südsee-Inseln zu Hamburg*, shortened to "D.H. & P.G.," or the "Long Handle Firm," for common use in the wide reaches of the Southern Seas. Weber became a greater man than ever, and spent his time travelling between Samoa and Hamburg, when he was not on duty as German Consul in the Pacific. The "D.H. & P.G." had been put together in Germany, and the idea of a Colonial Empire was not lost in the firmer grip of trade. Robert Louis Stevenson, between his arrival in Samoa in 1889 and his death in 1894, was continually fighting this German octopus. He called it "the head of the boil of which Samoa languished." The firm in its earlier days had a standing order to its agents that missionaries were to be sternly discouraged. Miss Gordon-Cumming quotes from the evidence of a late employee of Godeffroy's, as given in the New Zealand Blue Book, 1874: "To all its widely scattered agents one clear direction was given—

Never assist missionaries, either by word or deed, but, wheresoever you may find them, use your best influence with the natives to obstruct and exclude them."[1] Missionaries were a nuisance, when doubtful or dishonest practices had to be carried on in islands not claimed for other Powers; and it speaks volumes for the force of character of Dr. Brown when standing up for the natives in New Britain and New Ireland that he was able to do as much as he did. In the end, however, Germany made good her footing in the Pacific by the unscrupulous acts of her agents. If it be contended that official Germany knew nothing of the tricks of German traders the reply must be made that she was quite willing to make use of them, and when they fell into financial difficulties to absorb them in the large firms and syndicates which became dominant. Did she not lend her warships to help them when fines had to be enforced against the unfortunate Samoans? The combination of Bismarck and Weber eventually proved irresistible in the Pacific when a Colonial policy had to be adopted. Ultimate Imperial control may have led to better ways, but the development from trickery and treachery, to triumph through the mailed fist, has been quite consistent.

[1] *A Lady's Cruise*, p. 82.

Now, Theodor Weber left Samoa as mere manager of Godeffroy's in 1880. It was just before this time that the affairs of the firm came to a crisis, and after reconstruction Weber emerged more prominently as the builder of a Colonial Empire for Germany and as her consul in the Pacific. He had been specially interesting himself in New Guinea, New Britain, New Ireland, and the rest of the islands which eventually were annexed by her; and Dr. Brown in his Autobiography gives an interesting glimpse of the German consul's activities in those waters. This missionary had made a great sensation in Australia and Great Britain by his fearless handling of a difficult situation caused by the murder of some of his native teachers. Instead of waiting and reporting, and so giving the New Britain murderers an interval in which to swoop down, as they threatened, to massacre the rest of the white people, he organised an expedition and prevented the guilty natives from carrying out their threats. It was an unheard-of thing. Stevenson, in his *Vailima Letters* and elsewhere, expressed delight that it had agitated mission circles and given Exeter Hall a severe shock. He was able, however, to interpret the extraordinary event in the light of his knowledge

of the man in George Brown, who was always a Briton and a believer in common sense while pre-eminently a successful missionary—or rather the latter because he was the former. But Germany decided to make inquiry, although New Britain was no more her special province than it was officially in Great Britain's sphere of influence. It was a British missionary who was involved, and who was to be tried by a British tribunal. Nevertheless Captain Von Werner in the German corvette, the *Ariadne*, took Weber to New Britain, and after thorough investigation they expressed the heartiest approbation of what Dr. Brown had done. Von Werner in his report to the German Admiralty said that the Government of Fiji so harshly criticised the missionary's action that he would probably be sentenced to five years' imprisonment—such were the hints given the German Captain in Levuka. This, however, is a story by itself. The point is that the leader of British missionary enterprise in New Britain did Germany great service by his firmness and disregard for convention. As a man of peace he had shown that he could be a man of war. When Captain Von Werner and the great Weber left New Britain the missionary and his family stood on the cliffs overlooking the

sea as the corvette passed below, almost at their feet. Germany saluted him on that day in far-off New Britain with all the honour paid to a distinguished personage. As the *Ariadne* steamed away the band was playing, the sailors manned the yards, and the officers stood at the salute. Von Werner in his letter to Dr. Brown dated Dec. 14, 1878, from the harbour of Makada, wrote in glowing terms of the outcome of the latter's action. "This favourable issue," he said, "which has also materially benefited German interests, has thus caused me to inform my Government of the sentiments of gratitude which your noble and courageous action has created in the hearts as well of all Germans living here as also those foreigners who are in German employ." Later on a letter was sent by the German Ambassador in London to Lord Salisbury, in which the most cordial thanks were expressed for Dr. Brown's "estimable and courageous conduct in protecting the interests of the Germans in New Britain," and urging that this acknowledgment on the part of Germany might "guard this spirited man, so highly deserving in regard to the interests of all foreigners in that group of islands, from the troubles into which he is reported to have fallen with the Royal British Authorities, in

consequence of the expedition mentioned in the beginning." When Dr. Brown reached Fiji in November 1879 he was informed that a criminal charge had been preferred against him in the High Commissioner's Court, but the Attorney-General finally refused to prosecute, and the business was settled by a general shaking of hands. Germany had interfered to some purpose.

But the point of all this is that, while Dr. Brown's spirited defence of himself and of the white people in New Britain in 1878 was acknowledged to have been right and necessary by everybody concerned, both in Great Britain and Fiji, it was undoubtedly a great aid to German designs and activities in that part of the Pacific. It was precisely what Germany liked to see, as long as it suited her book. The careful, stealthy survey of this great group of islands was going on all the time. As showing how the work was being carried through, it may be mentioned that Weber, in his visit to New Britain in the *Ariadne*, wanted to interview the natives, but as he could not speak their language he was forced to ask Dr. Brown to be his interpreter. But the missionary would only consent on two conditions. These were perfectly simple, and the first was

that he was to be at liberty to explain to the natives the import of any agreements they might make with the German consul. The second was that as soon as he possibly could Dr. Brown would communicate all he knew to the British Government. Only so would he help the encroaching trader-cum-consul, and Weber accepted the conditions without reserve. All this does not appear in Dr. Brown's Autobiography, for very good reasons, which the outbreak of war in 1914 has made it possible to reveal. But of this more anon. Meanwhile, the *dénouement* of this particular Weber incident is interesting. When Germany hauled up her flag in New Guinea, and beyond, she announced that all land claims would be honoured; and then it was found that for some worthless "trade" the natives had agreed to dispossession. Nearly all the strategic points and much of the good land had been bartered away, and German claims left the unfortunate people at the mercy of their masters in the new regime. Anything more at variance with British official practice, especially in New Zealand and Fiji, could hardly be imagined; but that has been Germany's way. The two are at opposite poles, as the present War has proved; and the Power which nearly destroyed

the Hereros in South-West Africa was not likely to be merciful to restless natives in German New Guinea in the opening years of occupation, either by recognising their customs and claims or by fair dealing when demanding their labour.

Weber was undoubtedly a great man. He prepared the way for annexation as no one else could have done, and he could see when methods of dealing with white men and with natives had to be altered. He, like Bismarck, could accept the facts and submit to the pressure of events. For one thing, he recognised the value of the British missionary in the Pacific. His firm had fought the missionary by secret instructions to its agents, as has been shown; and even if he did not inspire the conflict in the first instance, he certainly carried it on and used his power without scruple wherever it could extend trade or further the interests and influence of Godeffroy & Son. Men who spent and were spent in the service of the natives were at last tolerated and finally commended, because they helped Germany. Yet one is not surprised that a veteran missionary like the Rev. Joseph King, now resident in Melbourne, should speak well of Weber, or that Dr. Brown should have respected him. Mr. King was for many years stationed in Samoa and always found Weber

a man of his word. But nothing was allowed to interfere with the main object of the firm he so ably represented in the Pacific, which was an important factor in the movement for expansion in Germany itself. Bismarck at last turned round and worked with the Colonial Party, making the annexation of New Guinea, or what was left of it, the sign of his power; but Weber had done his work. The trader had triumphed. He died in 1889 still a comparatively young man, in the year when Stevenson landed at Apia eventually to write his *Footnote to History* and comment therein upon Bismarck's greatest surrender—also in the last year of the memorable 'eighties. It is a story notable in the annals of the Pacific.

Stevenson tells how the day before the awful hurricane in Samoa, on March 16, 1889, Germany and the United States faced one another in Apia harbour with their warships ready for action; and, the day after, nothing was left of the vessels but scrap iron on the beach or wrecks at the bottom of the sea. Then it was that the British warship, the *Calliope*, under Captain Kane, steamed out in the teeth of the gale amid the cheers of the American sailors, and set up a brave mark for the future. In consequence the Iron Chancellor threw down his

arms before the world; for, as Stevenson puts it, "in what seemed the very article of war, and within the duration of a single day, the sword arm of each of the two angry Powers was broken; their formidable ships reduced to junk; their disciplined hundreds to a horde of castaways, fed with difficulty, and the fear of whose misconduct marred the sleep of their Commanders."[1] It was realised that the whole Samoan group was not worth such cost; and the hurricane "became a marking epoch in world history." Bismarck admitted that his policy was wrong "on a review of these two years of blundering, bullying, and failure in a little isle of the Pacific"; and he came to terms with the United states and Great Britain in accepting Samoa as neutral territory. The tragedy aroused the American nation to demand and obtain a navy; and it led to a conference in Berlin, and a treaty which, however, only lasted as long as the man responsible for it. Bismarck was forced to resign in 1890, and the final settlement of Samoa was made in 1899, the year after he died. But the man of blood and iron did a wonderful thing in those days, rare in history as Stevenson remarks, and unknown in Bismarck's career till then.

[1] *Footnote to History*, p. 267.

Had the astonishing conduct of the Samoans impressed him and forced his hand? They had the Germans at their mercy after that awful hurricane, for they had only to swarm down from their lines and take possession of the place where arms and ammunition were plentiful enough. Not long before, the Germans had tried to entrap and destroy them, but had been caught themselves and badly cut up. The Samoans had retreated to the mountains, quite prepared to be attacked by forces better armed than themselves and determined to be revenged, for it was certain that Germany would not submit to the insult of defeat. Then had come the hurricane and with it a great opportunity for further victory. The very elements seemed to be fighting for the Samoans, and they badly wanted arms. But at once they abandoned the fight, came down to the beach, and rescued the drowning German sailors at the risk of their own lives over and over again. It was a tremendous object-lesson for Bismarck when the news reached Berlin. Did he recognise then that a Power greater than Germany was fighting against him? Would he repeat his confession of failure now before the world, and do his penance in these days of awful war, were he in control as in the calm following the

Samoan hurricane? Bismarck at heart was no German trader, though he was always the ruthless Prussian. He had moments of spiritual insight; and like his colleague Weber he could further a great object by changing his policy.

CHAPTER II

GERMAN ACTIVITY IN THE PACIFIC

Unauthorised annexation—First Australian Convention—Early articles by "Carpe Diem"—Later, *re* Marshall Islands—Inaction of Britain—Trood justifies Weber—Trading in land—"Carpe Diem" refuses to meet Governor of Fiji—Discloses German designs on New Guinea—Her scientists prospect Australia—Miss Freeman's revelation.

EARLY in 1883, Sir Thomas, then Mr., McIlwraith threw a bombshell into the German and British Chancelleries by annexing, on behalf of Queensland, part of New Guinea—as a challenge to Great Britain. There was no question of defiance. It was a call to co-operation under the flag, and it was emphatically an advertisement to the world that Australia was restless and very anxious over German activity so near her coast. As Lord Derby was inclined to treat the whole business as a piece of impertinence, Sir Thomas McIlwraith suggested a conference of the colonies to consider the position; and in this way the beginnings of union were made, even

while the British Government was listening to Germany's assurances that she would never do anything to upset existing arrangements. It may be said that the Australian Commonwealth began with this Conference, and as a protest against the mother country's inaction. The colonies felt that they were being threatened from outside, and they drew together in self-defence; while Sir Thomas, stirred to action in the first instance by his sense of danger, moved like the statesman he was to strike while the iron was hot. He sought to reinforce his annexation of New Guinea with the call of a Convention, to represent the opinion of Britons right through the Pacific. In the end he won, but it was only through apparent defeat; yet he thoroughly aroused everybody before he had finished. As we look back to-day the situation of 1883 seems to be singularly reproduced. Then the salient groups in the Pacific near Australia were practically in Britain's possession, and she had only to stretch out her hands to secure them. To-day once more all the main approaches to the Commonwealth and the outlying points for defence are in Britain's hands, waiting the event of war; and Australia is watching developments with the keenest solicitude. This Australian Convention of

1883, therefore, takes a new significance as it endorsed, in fact, Sir Thomas McIlwraith's warrant for the action he had taken. The speeches made during its sittings, the press comment upon its resolutions, and the appearance at last of unity among colonies suspicious of one another, had a great effect. It was notable, for instance, that a prominent Victorian public man like the Hon. James Service should acknowledge that for upwards of thirty years he had been in Melbourne, and never once in that time had he visited Sydney. The colony of Victoria was generally so suspicious of Germany's policy in the Pacific that she could not keep away from the Convention, though she was perhaps more concerned about the future of the New Hebrides in particular. Queensland might be watching New Guinea, but Victoria wanted to know what was likely to happen with France in the group mentioned. Yet the colonies were agreed on the main point. In the first week of December 1883, therefore, it was not surprising that the Convention Committee on Annexation should formulate certain proposed resolutions, the first of which set forth that the "acquisition of dominion by any foreign Power, in any of the islands of the Western Pacific, would be highly detrimental to the

future safety and well-being of the British possessions in Australasia, as well as injurious to the interests of the whole Empire." These resolutions were amended, it is true; and while emphasis was laid upon the need for annexing New Guinea, and for obtaining control of the New Hebrides, nothing was said about New Britain and New Ireland. Moreover, the resolutions were debated behind closed doors; but, broadly, the Convention laid down the principle enunciated in the first of the Committee's recommendations without circumlocution or hesitation.

In a very real sense, then, this gathering of Australian statesmen was a forerunner of the union which has been so truly consummated since 1901 in the Commonwealth. Sir Thomas McIlwraith appealed to forces which were potent for great good; and, while seeking to anticipate Germany and place Great Britain first in New Guinea, he helped to educate the people of Australia in the great principles of Empire. In addition, the Convention gave able men among them a chance of voicing their faith in the flag. But prominent and insistent, outside of the Convention, were the appeals in the public press. Especially urgent was a series of articles which appeared in the columns of the *Sydney*

Morning Herald, by no means the first from the same pen, but this time under the *nom de plume* of "Carpe Diem." The critic was clearly a man of extended acquaintance with the Pacific, and with decided views upon the policy which should be pursued to checkmate Germany. Through 1883, 1884, and 1885 these articles appeared; and the comment which accompanied them from time to time in the leading columns of the *Herald* was clearly inspired, if not in many cases actually written, by the same hand. Who was the writer? A series by "Carpe Diem" appeared again as recently as 1907, when Germany's extraordinary attitude towards Australian trade in the Marshall Islands was attracting attention. Nearly twenty-five years had elapsed, but the same trouble was arising in dealing with a Power that had no scruples about ignoring solemn treaties, and that was then, in effect, tearing up an agreement which assured equal trading rights to Britons in certain German possessions in the Pacific where annexation had been permitted in past years. "Carpe Diem" opened his 1907 series by stating that the facts adduced, the opinions expressed, and the vigorous advocacy of the rights of the colonies in the leading columns of the *Sydney Morning Herald* in previous years had a decided effect upon the

policy, not only of the British Foreign Office, but upon that of Berlin, and declared that this was well known to some of its readers. But he ventured also to state that the troubles in the Marshall Islands were the direct and legitimate fruits of the policy which he and others so unsparingly condemned at the time it was first entered upon. Had the policy he then advocated been followed, "there would have been only British colonies in the greater part of the Western Pacific, the outrageous proceedings narrated in the Marshall Islands could never have happened, and the suggested improvements advocated in the South Seas policy would have been made at least twenty-four years ago."

But who was "Carpe Diem"? In the series dealing with the Convention he deprecated the hesitancy which had marked the handling of all that stretch of the Pacific now known as the Bismarck Archipelago and including the Solomons, and he denounced the shilly-shallying of the British Foreign Office, which allowed German pressure without insisting upon German responsibility. Another series dealing with "German Policy in the Pacific" was still more outspoken. It must be kept in mind that Germany had not then, as far as was known, made any direct move, though her traders had been feverishly

preparing the way; and the criticism of "Carpe Diem" reads now very like prophecy. He urged that British inaction had stimulated German ambitions, and insisted that if the authorities in London did nothing, at least they could not complain if Germany took action. On this point Mr. B. R. Wise, taking for his motto *audi alteram partem,* joined issue, justifying the inaction of the British Government; and the controversy became very interesting. All the time, however, a German steamer was engaged in the official work of preparing to hoist the flag. Before 1885 was more than begun Germany was in possession and "Carpe Diem's" warning was absolutely justified. Naturally, the identity of this critic became a matter of great interest. He had said in the concluding article of this series, finishing his reply to Mr. Wise: "For many years I have been brought into very close relationship with German merchants and German officials in Sydney and throughout the whole of the Eastern and Western Pacific, and have always received the greatest courtesy and kindness at their hands; and I count to-day the leading representative of the principal German trading firm of the South Seas as amongst the number of my dear good friends." Then it was laid down that "German official policy must be dis-

tinguished from the people of Germany"; and upon the former point there was no doubt as to the writer's opinions.

It is specially interesting at the present moment to discuss this matter, because in 1912 a book was published in Sydney by Thomas Trood, British Vice-Consul at Apia, Samoa, entitled *Island Reminiscences*, which seems to controvert some of Miss Gordon-Cumming's statements about Godeffroy's land transactions with the natives and also to challenge "Carpe Diem's" general conclusions. Mr. Trood, it may be mentioned in passing, was in his earlier years in the service of Godeffroy & Son. He was the Grand Old Man of Samoa, an Englishman, born in Taunton, Somersetshire, and largely responsible for Germany's failure to annex Tonga when Shirley Baker was striving so earnestly to influence the King in that direction. His friendship with this adventurous Premier of a group so tempting to a predatory Power at once ceased, as did his connection with Godeffroy & Son. Mr. Trood, therefore, could write with knowledge; and his reputation and position in Samoa were such that he acted as Assistant Native Judge during British occupation until he died in March 1916. Fifteen hundred people of every class and nationality in the island joined hands

to bury him. Now, in his *Island Reminiscences* Mr. Trood says of Theodor Weber that he had seldom met a man whom he could more highly value and esteem, and this follows the statement that Weber in the 'seventies and earlier had made the acquisition of land by his firm a leading object. He had "succeeded in acquiring for them about 150,000 acres, most of which was confirmed to them by the three Land Commissioners in 1892 and 1893, a sure proof that the purchase had been made in a fair and above-board way." This was written and published before the present War by a man of unimpeachable integrity, and it appears to cut right across Miss Gordon-Cumming's conclusions reached in 1878; though one cannot forget that much of Germany's policy in the Pacific must now be interpreted in the light of events which have happened since war was declared against the world in 1914. In 1912 Mr. Trood was still a believer in Germany's general good faith, as were many other people who have since been shocked and exasperated by her abominable brutalities and outrages. Yet Miss Gordon-Cumming, in the quotation from her book given in the last chapter, only said that German traders had fomented intertribal strife in Samoa and had obtained much land by selling rifles and ammuni-

tion to the quarrelling natives. Mr. Trood says nothing about this in his book.

"Carpe Diem's" comments in 1885 verified the position taken up by Miss Gordon-Cumming in 1878; and as the contributor to the *Sydney Morning Herald* of those days is still alive, and informs the present writer that he stands by every word that he then wrote, the truth can hardly be challenged, especially as he was resident in Samoa from 1860 to 1875 and closely concerned in all that happened, as will presently be shown. "Carpe Diem," then, in one of his most trenchant articles, which appeared in the *Herald* on February 14, 1885, wrote quite clearly about certain land claims which were causing trouble in Samoa. In 1871–72 the natives parted with most of the land claimed, because they were very anxious to secure munitions of war, "and these were readily given in exchange for land." Both Germans and Americans bought freely, though the former were more careful in their purchases. Any native could assert his title to a piece of land, "give the name of it and a very rough description of its size, and then sign a paper agreeing to complete the sale at some future time, when the land could be measured." "Carpe Diem" says that in many cases the land was never seen by

the purchaser, and in nearly all cases the size was very much exaggerated. The German firm, however, did not pay until the areas were measured, and this often had to be done at night, "or very secretly, for fear of other members of the family, who would dispute the right of the would-be seller." The writer then says: "It is not difficult to understand how family feuds and tribal quarrels were excited or intensified by these proceedings, and how difficult the settlement of land claims must still be in Samoa." All this appeared in the *Herald* when the news of Germany's annexations in New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago was being discussed throughout Australia, and no one need wonder that prominent men began to ask more insistently who "Carpe Diem" could be.

These articles on the Western Pacific in connection with annexation, and the series exposing German policy everywhere, were so direct and timely that Sir William Des Vœux, Governor of Fiji at the time, was specially anxious to meet the man responsible for them. The Governor had constituted himself a delegate to the Sydney Convention, and had taken a leading part in its proceedings—probably watching it for the British Government, and certainly contributing information and offering suggestions

which provoked controversy. Sir William wrote to Dr. Garran, then editor of the *Sydney Morning Herald*, asking whether an interview could be arranged, and Dr. Garran at once communicated with "Carpe Diem" for that purpose. But the latter decided to preserve his incognito, and for very good reasons. His intimate knowledge of the Pacific had been obtained during nearly quarter of a century of constant travel and exploration. He was well known to Germany, and his principal activities had been carried on in German spheres of trade and influence. It was therefore undesirable that he should be forced into direct opposition to the great Weber or to the German Foreign Office. As a British subject, however, and intensely patriotic, he was determined that the Australian public should know the truth, and he wrote as he felt. Sir J. B. Thurston, who afterwards became Governor of Fiji, and was always a close friend of the writer of these disturbing disclosures, told him later on that he had seen "Carpe Diem's" articles filed at the London and Berlin Foreign Offices, and explained, much to their mutual amusement, that Sir William Des Vœux was sure Sir Alfred Stephen had written them. Only so distinguished a personage could have declined to meet the Governor of Fiji!

It will probably have been guessed that Dr. George Brown was "Carpe Diem." When he made appeal again through the columns of the *Sydney Morning Herald* in 1907 he wrote under the old *nom de plume* because it was not advisable, for one so well known, to be prominent in the discussion of the problems of the Pacific; but the War has cleared the air and made disguise unnecessary. Much that had to be kept back, up to August 1914, is now available for use and debate; and a Life of Dr. George Brown in this relation would be very enlightening. It would show for one thing that a thoroughly sincere and honourable man could do his duty by his country and yet work amicably as a missionary in what was for so long practically an enemy's country. After fifteen years in Samoa, during which he had watched the progress of German machinations, he had gone to New Britain with his band of helpers, and had done for civilisation there what Chalmers about the same time was doing in New Guinea. These intrepid men started their wonderful pioneering work in these new fields in the 'seventies; and by the time Germany was ready for her spring upon New Britain, New Ireland, and the rest of the islands which make up the Bismarck Archipelago, Dr. Brown had cut a path where white men had never

before ventured. British pluck and perseverance paved the way for German possession, and the man responsible for this at the outset gave constant warning of what was coming.

Dr. Brown was in Sydney when Germany took direct action in the annexation of part of New Guinea, New Britain, New Ireland, and much beside. He had been writing these articles on the subject, and made it his business to keep in touch with the vessels trading to or leaving for the islands; and on one Monday morning he went down to the office of a firm that did much business in the Pacific to chat with captains and others who could give information. To his surprise the principal of the firm announced that the steamer *Samoa* had been preparing for a trip somewhere, and that he had sold great quantities of trade and gear to Dr. Finsch, well known as a naturalist, whatever his present object might be. Dr. Brown asked no questions, but went off to the wharf where he knew the *Samoa* to have been lying, and sure enough she had vanished. Inquiry soon showed that she had gone filled to the hatches, but nobody knew her destination. Well aware of Dr. Finsch's object under such conditions, Dr. Brown at once hurried to see Commodore Erskine and reported to him that Germany intended to annex New Guinea, that

the *Samoa* had just left Sydney for that purpose, and that Dr. Finsch was now shown under his true colours. The Commodore was aghast. At first he turned upon Dr. Brown to ask why the matter had not been reported before, and then he proceeded to reason that the whole thing was impossible. Had not Germany given every assurance, and so forth? But the Admiral really felt so disgusted because it was his business to know what Germany was doing, and there, in Sydney, under his very eyes, she had deceived the British Government until it was too late to do anything. Dr. Brown had given the key to the whole pretty puzzle of Germany's scientific expeditions and of her apparent determination not to do what was under preparation for doing all the time.

Germany's way of making scientific inquiry, as exemplified in Dr. Finsch's activities, may be seen in many directions. Australia knows what she has been doing. The Linnean Society's Library in Sydney contains the latest evidence of the wonderful thoroughness with which it is all done, in a work in several large volumes that has cost the Society £70; and nothing more complete in the illustration of scientific knowledge is to be found anywhere. It is by a German named Semon, who spent much time

in Australia, and it deals with part of the fauna of the continent. Briefly it is a study of the embryology of the marsupials, monotremes, and lung fish of Queensland, with plates of the finest finish to explain the results of investigation. Nothing like it exists, and certainly no British man of science has attempted to understand the fauna of Australia as Professor Semon has done. Taken alone it is a very remarkable and praiseworthy achievement set forth with truly German thoroughness. But considered in relation to much that has been revealed since war broke out, it becomes sinister enough. Germany has been studying the whole of Australia with equal thoroughness, and relating it to the Pacific, to the East Indies, and to Asia as part of her dream of world empire. It was not for nothing that Treitschke, the German historian, advised taking Holland's colonies, and sneered at the Cameroons as "that sand-box." Nor did Friedrich List, the great German economist, urge without intent that "Holland belongs to Germany as much as Brittany and Normandy to France." Germany supplemented her scientific investigation by business practice, tying up the Australian metal industry, keeping both hands upon Australian gem mining and sales to the exclusion of outside buyers, and generally preparing for

"the day." So much has come out in the last two years that Australians realise now how thoroughly their country has been prospected, until even the roads have been mapped and fitted to a new plan for possible invasion or control.

A side-light upon Germany's methods is to be found in an Australian girl's experiences in 1914. At the beginning of that year Miss Hilda Freeman had been engaged to teach the children of a family in northern Germany, and when war broke out she began to hear things which made her think. The German nobleman with whom she was domiciled had a sister who spoke freely of Australia and of her country's designs upon it. In the book recently published,[1] Miss Freeman gives extracts from her diary in which are recorded conversations upon the possibilities of the future; and some of the admissions of the aunt of her pupils are very frank. Quoting a Count, who was supposed to know, this German lady said that there was a lot of inflammable material in Australia, and that Germans had worked upon it to their advantage. "We have many influential supporters there," she continued, "and they will prevent Australia from doing anything worth while. They have quite unostentatiously

[1] *An Australian Girl in Germany: Through Peace and War.*

got the reins in their hands and can pull Australia — the people — as they like." On being asked whether there was not a party eager to cut adrift from the Empire, Miss Freeman professed ignorance of Australian politics, but she was assured it was true, and that there was every possibility of the party becoming supreme. "Our Government naturally gives it every assistance," admitted this German informant. "We have much influence in Australia; quietly, of course." She continued: "We have been laying our plans for a long time. Perhaps the severance does not come at once, but gradually it will come. Then we will stand by you and uphold you." This is illuminating as one looks back. To read the history of Germany's perfidy in so many documents of the past and present, to discuss it with men like Dr. George Brown, still alert and full of information at eighty, and to unravel old knots and tangles by their aid, is to discover a new Pacific and to confess the need of a new policy.

CHAPTER III

THE NEW CONDITIONS IN THE PACIFIC

Central importance of Pacific — Copeland's warning in 1882—A "desert of ships"—Islands, high and low—Tropical Australia and the islands—A new problem for Britain—Grave interests at stake—Fiji—A maze of territory—Britain must retain control.

WITH the capture of German possessions in the Pacific the people of Australia are working under new conditions, or, at any rate, are looking to a future in which their burdens and responsibilities promise to be much heavier. They are naturally asking what is likely to happen with these fresh fields for enterprise when peace is declared. There are writers in Great Britain who have discussed the question from both sides, but so far the Australian point of view has not been fully presented. Even if it be assumed that, when the War is over, no change will be made in the flag now flying over these spoils of war, the further question of ultimate control will remain to be settled; and it is well that the Empire as a whole

should understand something of the history of, and the position of Australia in relation to, the Pacific. To grasp the situation of the groups or islands concerned, with the Commonwealth as a referring centre, a glance at the map will be helpful. First, however, it may be said that the Pacific Ocean stretching from pole to pole, and lying, as Dr. Fitchett has so well put it, "a belt of steamy equatorial waters, 10,000 miles long, running from east to west betwixt these two bitter extremes," this vast expanse covering one-third of the globe between Asia and the two Americas, involves more than Australia at present is considering, though the whole of the way between her and the American continents is undoubtedly within her vision as she thinks of the future, and Asia is never out of her thoughts. As a matter of fact, the vision of Empire has never been one-sided under the Southern Cross. Occupied though Australians are with the development of a great territory in the temperate zone, yet for a century they have been forced to think of the Pacific to its farthest limits; and when their leading men have travelled abroad they have come back more concerned than ever with the future of an empty continent placed right at the door of Asia.

Here, for instance, is an extract from the first

of a series of articles which appeared in the *Sydney Morning Herald* on July 4, 1882, by the Hon. Henry Copeland, who at the time was a ministerial colleague of Sir Henry Parkes: "I am strongly of opinion that before another generation is past the Malay Peninsula will be the Australian railway route for Calcutta and London. When the main trunk line to Port Darwin becomes an accomplished fact, by the various colonies either unitedly guaranteeing the interest to a powerful company, or by giving liberal land grants, then we shall begin to realise the fact that the southern portion of this elephantine proboscis of Asia is only some 2000 miles distant from Port Darwin; that Johore, the Southern State of the Peninsula, is nearer to Australia than Perth is to Sydney, and that even a 12-knot service, which will not by any means be the rate of maritime locomotion, say only twenty years hence, would cover the distance in less than a week over a sea generally as smooth as a mill-pond, and with ordinary care as safe for navigation as Sydney Harbour." Much has happened since then, and Asia still waits. But each decade has impressed upon Australia with increasing emphasis that not India alone, but China and Japan, have eyes and ears and abounding wealth, and that she cannot hope to

remain outside the orbit of Asiatic influence and power. Yet in its immediate and direct call the Pacific in its northern reaches does not concern her so much as that vast stretch to the eastward.

Even in the more restricted area the expanse of ocean studded with innumerable islands baffles the imagination. Wealth beyond the dreams of avarice lies potential as the leagues towards the American shores are scanned; and yet the enterprising trader or business man hardly knows how to give his warrant for the faith that is in him. Robert Louis Stevenson in 1888 as he travelled from Hawaii to the Gilbert Islands described the South Seas as a desert of ships, where communication was by accident, and where your designed end was one thing but your actual point of arrival another. "It was my hope," he said, "to have reached the Carolines, and returned to the light of day by way of Manila and the China ports; and it was in Samoa that we were destined to reappear, and be once more refreshed with the sight of mountains. Since the sunset faded from the peaks of Oahu six months had intervened, and we had seen no spot of earth so high as an ordinary cottage. Our path had been still on the flat sea, our dwellings upon unerected coral, our diet from the pickle-tub or out of tins; I

had learned to welcome shark's flesh for a variety; and a mountain, an onion, an Irish potato or a beef-steak had been long lost to sense and dear to aspirations."[1] Earlier, however, in the cruise of the *Casco,* Stevenson had attempted a description of this new province of creation—this wide field of ocean as he called it; and he noted that it was a parallelogram of one hundred degrees by forty-seven, where degrees were the most spacious. But while he explained that much of it lay vacant, he was impressed, too, with the fact that much was closely strewn with islands, and, as above indicated, these were of two sorts. "No distinction is so continuously dwelt upon in South Sea talk," he continues, "as that between the 'low' and the 'high' island, and there is none more broadly marked in nature. The Himalayas are not more different from the Sahara."[2] The "high" islands lie mostly in groups, are of volcanic origin, and their masses reach from 4000 to 13,000 feet in height. The "low" islands have been fitly described in the first quotation, and it may stand in the immediate connection. For while some of this needs to be qualified to-day, by the statement that in a quarter of a century the islands of the Pacific have been linked up in many directions by mail services and trading

[1] *In the South Seas*, p. 203. [2] *Ibid.* p. 140.

vessels, yet the truth remains. This vast ocean waits to be drawn into the world's new work, and Australia realises more fully than ever that it is destined to hold a position of extraordinary power in the relations of the civilised nations.

For present purposes it is enough to take the Pacific as it lies just within administrative range. As far as Australia is concerned, the Equator may be accepted as the northern boundary, and the Tropic of Capricorn as the southern. Northern Australia may be said to begin with the latter, but it ends before the Equator is reached. If a line be drawn through the city of Rockhampton, which lies almost upon the Tropic of Capricorn, the continent will be divided into two parts, of which the southern section represents roughly the temperate regions of Australia and contains about two million square miles. From the map it will be seen that the islands of Tasmania and New Zealand also lie to the south of this line and must be included with Australia for the purposes of the general argument. Australasia, as we know it, would not find the problems of settlement and expansion so complicated in the Pacific if it were not for these direct interests in the tropics; and no discussion of the Pacific Ocean is possible that does not recognise the difficulties

which lie before a people living under ordinary European conditions in temperate regions, but bound by their environment to think of the million and a half of Polynesians and Melanesians south of the Equator. The significant fact is that the population, which makes up an important part of the British Empire in this portion of the globe, is massed close to the Tropic of Capricorn. Southern Queensland, lying immediately below, is blessed with an equable climate which is hardly semi-tropical; and its potentialities of wealth, in a mean between two extremes, are very great. Probably no country in the world contains so much promise as the whole state of Queensland stretching northward almost to New Guinea, which is still south of the Equator. But Australia's great problem emerges here, in that one-third of her bulk, which lies in the tropic, is practically uninhabited. A million square miles of country constitute northern Australia if its southern boundary be indicated by the Tropic of Capricorn; and this line extended through the Pacific will include all, or nearly all, of the captures from Germany in a survey northward to the Equator. The Caroline and the Marshall Islands, it is true, are either on the Equator or beyond it; but these may be left out of account for the present. German Samoa, German New

Guinea, the Bismarck Archipelago, and some intervening islands really cover the ground in question; and, with British possessions in this part of the Pacific, these groups come climatically and geographically within the sphere of influence of which northern Australia is the main feature.

The Pacific Ocean, as now defined, has given Australia, whether as several colonies or as a Commonwealth, much to think about during the last half-century. Broadly, it is a tropical empire waiting to be developed. It lies now along a new trade route opened by the Panama Canal, but its chief importance comes with its proximity to Asia. Can we wonder that Germany looked upon Australia with longing eyes? Its cool southern lands, and the islands related to it in the temperate zone, were exactly what she wanted, but always as a convenient base of operations when dealing with the tropical islands lying so close. With Kiao Chau in the far north and Holland's colonies between, Australia and the island groups within reach and south of the Equator became doubly valuable and mightily enticed her. Conscious of Germany's ambitions, the people most concerned looked to Great Britain for guidance, and were quick to note when German diplomacy triumphed at the

expense of men like Lord Derby. They could appreciate with special feeling Lord Cromer's words, written six months before war was declared, that "whenever any German interest is involved, no moral obstacles will be allowed to stand in the way of furthering German views"; but they had their hands full with the work of developing the resources of their continent and islands already in possession. Providence has now added to the already colossal task a duty in the tropics which more than ever tends to concentrate their thoughts upon India, China, and Japan, but which can only be efficiently fulfilled by studying Australian conditions and limitations as a first necessity, and as an inescapable because vital consideration. What, then, will peace add to or subtract from this portion of the Titan's burden under which Great Britain herself has been bowed for more than a century? She is credited with being weary of Crown colonies and with a readiness to hand those in the Pacific to Australia and New Zealand when the War is over. If Germany's colonies in this ocean remain in our hands the problem of their future development may become complicated, and already there are thoughtful men who think that an island confederation will be the better solution as against

Australasian control. Australia, however, is expecting to extend her responsibilities in the Pacific now that New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago are practically in her hands, just as New Zealand has probably made up her mind that she will be allowed to retain Samoa.

It will be seen that New Guinea, New Britain, New Ireland, and the Solomons form the chief feature in this extension of tropical Australia. They make together a great bridge over part of the Pacific which may carry either a multitude of prosperous producers or armies of belligerents bent on mutual destruction; and because the attitude and activity of Germany for nearly fifty years have indicated to Australia the possibilities of war rather than the certainty of peace, so much of agitation and debate has been recorded. Putting aside for a moment this phase of the question, the fact should be noted that one-third of a continent and literally many hundreds of islands are concerned in the discussion of what is to happen in the near or not so distant future. Fiji, for instance, is a group containing over 200 islands, many of which no doubt are uninhabited but which as a whole make a wonderful possession for a thriving people. Why should Fiji be mentioned in the present connection? It is a British Crown Colony, and

seems to be prospering under existing conditions. Why, then, include a fixture with the flux of captured colonies? The reply is that a movement has been started to include the group under Commonwealth jurisdiction, thus returning to the point of departure adopted by Sir William Des Vœux in 1883 when attending the Convention on the Pacific called by Sir Thomas McIlwraith. Sir William, as Governor of Fiji, was much exercised about the future of the Crown Colony. It seemed to him that a federated Australia was the way out for Fiji if a place could be found for her under the Commonwealth's wing. But the recalcitrant white men in Fiji repudiated the Governor and petitioned the Conference not to recognise him as an accredited delegate. To-day they are divided, some of them thinking of inclusion with Australia, and the rest said to be concerned to secure quasi-independence in an island federation. Although it is recognised that until peace is proclaimed nothing can be done, there is undoubtedly a feeling that a rearrangement of control in the Pacific is desirable and this may include Fiji in its scope. But Tonga is not far away—also a small problem; and not so far off again is Samoa, a problem of long standing and the centre of German activities

in an ocean never fairly won by German enterprise in the first place.

In these three groups alone are many islands, and tacked on to Fiji is Rotumah, 300 miles away, in which resides a Commissioner (though the island is so small), and where special conditions govern the administration. But the German New Guinea Protectorate — always understood by the Germans themselves to include the Bismarck Archipelago and the German Solomons—is a multitude of islands. With the British Solomons the two possessions make a maze of territory strewn upon great breadths of ocean. Dr. Brown, in one of the articles to the *Sydney Morning Herald* just mentioned, said that it was impossible to give anything like an accurate description of them. Writing of the various groups in the Pacific, he said: "The approximate length and breadth in miles, or the estimated circumference of the principal islands, give but a very poor idea indeed of the great extent of the groups. It is only as one sails for days and weeks through some great group like the Solomons, coasting along the shores of the large islands, and among the countless small islands lying off many of the larger ones, but which from their nearness are often not distinguished by passing ships, that

some faint idea can be formed of the possibilities of such splendid territory in the not very distant future." This appeared when Germany's new colonial aspirations were about to bear fruit. Vast territories, if land and ocean be taken together, were yet unclaimed; but in thirty years practically nothing remains that is not in possession by one or other of the European Powers. Great Britain now holds most of it, either directly or through Australia; and while the time has not yet come for final decision as to its future control, the Commonwealth is convinced that nothing short of defeat and ruin should alter the new order established soon after the War began. In territory recently German the terms of capitulation provide for continuing the administration along the old lines, recognising German laws, and holding the islands as though they might be returned to Germany. This of itself gives the Australian something to ponder, but meanwhile good men are in charge. One of the reminders which come from their activities is that they are doing so well because, like Sir William MacGregor in British New Guinea, they have largely to be let alone. Yet the whole field of the New Pacific is so vast, and responsibility with respect to it grows so great, that Australia as an empty continent becomes a

more serious problem than ever. So do the perplexities bred of war increase, while the cry in the Commonwealth to-day for leaders and thinkers was never so loud or insistent.

CHAPTER IV

GERMAN POLICY IN THE PACIFIC

The native labour problem in Fiji—In Samoa and the Solomons—Increasing anxiety—Other views, and history—Trade rivalries—Papua and New Hebrides—Germany's protective policy—Her land-claims in Fiji reopened—Polynesians and Melanesians.

THE New Pacific! There it lies with its tropical treasures and its colours of a terrestrial paradise, its multitudes of islands full of, or crying for, people—potential wealth in every degree of the lines of latitude which define its position upon the earth's surface. It is the same old Pacific to the student of its life and conditions, but the outlook is new, and in some respects very disconcerting. Fiji, with its more than 55,000 coolies, is fast becoming an appanage of India. The native population is now just holding its own, and there is some hope that the steady decline has ceased; but 85,000 Fijians at a standstill are no match for the Hindus and Mussulmans, who are increasing fast. Side issues

come in with India's dislike for the system of indenture, and Lord Hardinge, the late Viceroy, has spoken in no uncertain tones about the future. The indenture system must go. Moreover, in India there is increasing prosperity, thanks to the extension of irrigation; and Fiji, in sore need of labour to develop its fertile acres, may be left lamenting. This in itself represents a problem of the highest complication, for the native Fijian will not work. Why should he? A paternal Government has secured him in the possession of his lands, and now he is able to draw a substantial income from them. The Indians, out of their indentures, are glad to lease small areas at good rents; and even the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, with interests in Fiji running to three million sterling, pays a toll of many thousands per annum in rent alone. Naturally the natives feel independent in a country where food may be grown at a minimum of cost and labour, and where the sun is a continual source of profit for lazy folk who are content to live on bananas, bread-fruit, yams, and young coco-nuts. The Indians may swarm in and settle down, or they may elect to stay at home, but the Fijian is content. But the white man in Fiji has to think hard over the labour question, and he is less than five thousand strong

in a total population of between 150,000 and 160,000.

This disproportion in numbers, when comparing the black and the white, runs through the Pacific, for the very good reason that the black man is at home in the tropics and the white man will always be dependent upon him for help. Samoa, under German rule, has been importing Chinese coolies; but if these are to be repatriated —much to the relief of the missionaries—and no others are to come in, what is to take their place? The native Samoan is too proud a man to do hack work for the white man, and in any case there are not enough of him to develop the plantations and break new ground. Moreover, after long years of intrigue and unrest, and even with the settlement consequent upon Germany's final possession and dispossession, the way of peace is still difficult. In all Samoa there is not a population of 36,000, and the white men only number 500, with perhaps twice as many half-castes. Where is labour to be found to replace the 5000 Chinese whom the Germans imported to do their work and to open up a very promising group? This labour problem meets one everywhere in the Pacific, and adds to the feeling of disquietude when the future is discussed. There are the Solomons again, in the past a reservoir

of native labour for the rest of the islands, and at one time the great recruiting ground for Queensland. Some of the islands in this group had teeming populations; and one has only to hear the man who knows his Pacific compare it with other groups south of the Equator to understand a little of its potentialities. Compared with Fiji, it is declared to be like the treasure-house of Aladdin beside the ordinary banking-house possessions of civilisation. Like New Guinea, it lies outside the hurricane belt, and its native labour can be utilised. This needs to be modified by the remark that probably Bougainville and Buka—late German possessions —contain a greater population than all the rest of the islands in this remarkable group, if Malaita alone be excluded. Ysabel was at one time full of people, but the head-hunters practically exterminated them. Fiji and Samoa are fertile, but the Solomons are dreams of fertility. This is not exaggeration but the truth, since the white men who have gone there find it difficult to express their astonishment at nature's largess all through the islands of the group. But the natives are beginning to realise what this means. They are seeing white planters turning their useless land into marvellous breadths of cultivation, and thus is set forth one of the factors of

another problem for the white man. The Solomon Islander is beginning to think and to ask questions. He is no fool; nor are the natives of the Pacific anywhere special brands of human folly in not being able to put two and two together. To add to this knowledge of the possibilities of the group, the missionaries are actually training the local native for work upon the land, by starting plantations in connection with their churches. The new idea is to equip the Polynesian and Melanesian for the battle of life, now being waged under very different conditions from those they have been used to, and to make them self-helping, with European tools and European methods of work upon the land. A new industrial era has begun, and the Missionary Societies themselves are finding it impossible to say what the end will be. Meanwhile the white planter and trader see their Solomon Islanders exceedingly interested in the development going on around them, and they are not at all easy as to the future. In the British Solomons, with a total area of 8357 square miles, there are 150,000 people, of whom only 500 are white; and while this area and total population are approximately about equal to those of Fiji, it will be seen that the white people in the Solomons are about one-tenth of those in the

other group. With so much in favour of the Solomons, however, there is bound to be wonderful progress in the near future under sympathetic administration. Yet even now anxiety is beginning over a general import duty of 10 per cent, and the white trader and planter are not slow to express their dubiety about it. The Colonial Office has, no doubt wisely, decided that the possessions everywhere must as far as possible become self-supporting, and so help to ease the awful burden cast upon the British Government by the War. What, then, so equitable as a Customs duty for revenue purposes? But one of the effects has been to stop improvements, because the freights upon building necessaries have already become very heavy. And so the controversy proceeds. It is typical of what is happening all through the Pacific.

But what of New Guinea, New Britain, New Ireland, and the rest of the Bismarck Archipelago —all lying near to the Equator and full of promise? It has been declared again and again that these far-strewn groups of islands are not worth the trouble of looking after. When Sir J. B. Thurston, bothered on one occasion about the New Hebrides, debated them with a friend in Australia, he said, "Why think any more of them? I have been all through them,

and they are not worth discussing as a serious problem in loss or acquisition." It was peculiarly a repetition of what the Australian citizen in touch with affairs during the last quarter of a century can remember of his own continent not so far away. The Darling Downs—fertile plains in Southern Queensland — could not grow a cabbage, so it was solemnly announced by sheep-breeders who were satisfied to keep its broad fertile acres untilled. This was the dictum of men who believed what it was undoubtedly their interest to believe, and whose thoughts of sheep excluded all suggestions of closer settlement and intensive cultivation. Yet a Brisbane citizen, who wrote twenty years ago denying a proposition so generally accepted, reported that he had been given a cabbage from the Darling Downs too large and heavy to be carried home. In the same way the vast spaces of country in New South Wales fit for growing wheat were declared at one time to be quite useless for the purpose. And so the story unfolds. Australia has learned that the New Hebrides and New Guinea are neighbours with troublesome possibilities in production. The planter in Papua, as British New Guinea is now called, finds that, owing to the heavy duty, his bananas have to compete for entrance to the Commonwealth

with those of Fiji. And yet Papua is under Australian control, and receives £30,000 annually from Australia! It would not be so exasperating if the Queensland bananas were largely grown by white men. Protection in Australia has been justified to its numerous supporters by a reference to the white man's burden; and Queensland, as the outpost towards Asia, is being made possible for white settlement by heavy duties upon sugar. Many millions of money have already been paid by the people of the Commonwealth for a sugar industry which keeps a fringe of planters going on the alluvial flats and volcanic lands of the Queensland coast. But bananas in Queensland are largely grown by Chinese, who rent rich lands from European selectors at something like £1 per acre per annum, and who make much money behind the high tariff wall, while the white Papuan planter under Commonwealth jurisdiction is excluded. And all the time the poorer people of the Commonwealth are calling for cheap bananas, which are grown in such enormous quantities so close to them in the various island groups of the Pacific! As regards the New Hebrides, much the same difficulty has arisen. The Commonwealth was wishful to see Australian settlers multiplying there, and gave certain

concessions to those who provided capital and took up land. But the making of plantations involves much patience in preparation; and while coco-nuts and other products were growing, maize was planted as a catch crop. When, however, the question of marketing the maize in Australia was raised, the Commonwealth farmer made an outcry, and the barriers were raised against it. These are just indications of the difficulties which lie before a larger control of tropical lands by people living in temperate regions.

Even as between New Zealand and Australia the same trouble has arisen with regard to fruit. The New Zealanders want grapes and other products from the mainland; but they have elected to exclude a great deal of these health-giving foods because of the desire to become self-sufficing. Concessions have been and are being made, it is true, but barriers topped with thorns may be said to exist everywhere more or less in the Pacific; and the Germans in their own islands had no scruple in trying to exclude all traffic with British possessions, notwithstanding the most solemn treaty engagements. German steamers and German business men were to enter Australian ports on equal terms with Australian vessels and firms; but heavy special freights and

dues were sought to be imposed upon the latter in the Marshall Islands and elsewhere until Australian protests through the British Foreign Office opened the doors again. That episode makes a very interesting chapter in the history of the Pacific, and its details are on record both in London and in the files of Australian newspapers.

Germany's policy in the Pacific has been a mixture of bullying and palaver, threaded with cunning and quite unscrupulous double-dealing. Reference has already been made to her attitude towards the natives in acquiring land; and the way in which vast areas were obtained in both Samoa and New Guinea—the latter term being held to include the Bismarck Archipelago and the German Solomons—lacked nothing in boldness and clever trickery. It was one of the things which helped to precipitate the annexation of Fiji in 1874 by the British Government. German land claims and German designs generally were beginning to alarm the white people settled there, and forced Australians to ask questions and to agitate with renewed fervour for British intervention. One of the results of annexation was the appointment of a Commission to deal with all claims to land in Fiji, and the personnel of the Commission was formally approved by Germany.

In the end, German claims were largely rejected as bogus or unproved, and much bitter feeling arose among citizens of the Fatherland who considered that they had been dispossessed. Later on, when Bismarck's hands were being forced by the Colonial Party in Germany, the Chancellor decided that the time had arrived to show his power even in the Pacific, and he demanded a fresh Commission to consider the rejected German land claims in Fiji. It was pointed out that the previous Commission had been approved by Germany, but that made no difference to the wire-puller in Berlin, who was concerned to show how the British Government could be made to dance as he decided. Lord Ampthill, Ambassador for Great Britain in Berlin, wrote to Lord Granville, the British Minister, on May 9, 1883: "Bismarck is said to feel strongly in the matter, and to intend to press those claims steadily, so as to show Germany that he can protect German interests all over the world. It might save trouble if they could be dealt with gracefully and speedily, so as to leave him no time to get up an agitation about them.[1] A correspondence ensued, and the German Foreign Office continued to insist upon the appointment of a mixed Commission, not because Bismarck

[1] *Life of Lord Granville*, vol. ii. p. 338.

expected to get anything out of it, but in order to show public opinion in Germany that he could work his will. Germans were to be joined with English and Colonial authorities to investigate claims already rejected. As Lord Ampthill explained to the Chancellor, a hard nut had been given to the British Government to crack, in that the German Foreign Office itself had acknowledged the original tribunal to be just and impartial. But in April 1884 Bismarck again insisted, and practically got his way. Later in the year what was left of New Guinea, and what is now known as the Bismarck Archipelago, were annexed by Germany, notwithstanding the most solemn assurances that she was not thinking of taking such action; and for thirty years Australia had to watch developments in this unholy strategy close to her coasts. The story of German atrocities in New Guinea in those earlier years cannot be told. It may be indicated by German practice upon unhappy natives in South-west Africa and elsewhere; and its truth cannot be challenged by reference to more recent German ways with missionaries when the value of peaceful methods of penetration and settlement had been proved. German New Guinea, with the Bismarck Archipelago, covers 90,000 square miles and has a population of about half a million souls, of whom

the white people numbered less than a thousand before the War—most of them Government officials and dependants. British New Guinea covers practically an equal area, with a native population of half the number and about the same number of Europeans. A nearer view and wider knowledge of these lands and people only show a greater complication in the problems arising out of possession; but under the shrewd eyes and hands of Australian administration, left very largely to itself, they are not proving insoluble. The future success of Commonwealth jurisdiction will depend upon whether sympathetic control and sound business principles are allowed to go together, and much otherwise will wait upon Great Britain's attitude.

As an introduction to the next chapter, it may be explained here that the natives of the various groups of islands under consideration are, broadly, either Polynesians or Melanesians. The Fijians are practically Melanesians. Hawaii, New Zealand, Samoa, and Tonga are the islands specially associated with the word Polynesian, though at one time Polynesia was a term for the South Seas; while New Guinea, the Bismarck Archipelago, the Solomon Islands, and the New Hebrides are particularly the homes of

Melanesians. This is, however, still so much generalisation. A controversy has been carried on for a long time upon the points of origin, dispersion, and final rest of peoples who come under the above broad designation; and then there is further controversy as other divisions have to be recognised. But for the purpose of the argument of this book it is sufficient to say that the various groups mentioned are occupied by Polynesians or Melanesians.

CHAPTER V

GERMANY AND GREAT BRITAIN

Have natives rights?—Englishmen's past guilt—And Americans' —But government honest—The two policies—The nine men—Principle of selection—Captain Cook's tact—Samuel Marsden—His defence of the Maories—Its fruit to-day—John Williams—Introduces the Cavendish banana—Secret of British policy.

How are the natives of these wonderful groups of islands to be treated? What are their rights? On what basis shall their claims upon us be established? Or have they any rights and claims? These are the vital questions to-day in the new Pacific; in some respects made easier to answer by Germany's elimination from the competition between white men; while between the brown and the white—for there is a growing rivalry or opposition as the native learns his powers in possession under British rule—it is made more difficult. If it can be settled once and for all that the European, with his sense of dominion over palm and pine,

and the Polynesian and Melanesian, with their tendency to break up and disappear, may really work together and serve each other, the future at once grows more promising, and certain dark and ominous clouds begin to fade. To state the case in these terms, however, is to raise half a dozen issues at once. Native labour, native land tenure, native customs and needs, each is a problem in itself; while European demands for land, for opportunities to invest money, and for room to assert modern principles in colonisation and taxation, are the other sides in the equations which must be stated. They cannot be arranged with any hope of cancelling the principal factors, because the native is in overwhelming numbers and must be guarded both against the white man and against himself; and the white man must be allowed power to develop these possessions if his responsibility is not to crush him. It is not a matter of reconciling opposites, and no good can come of treating them as hopelessly in antagonism. Missionary enterprise has proved that the white man can care for and work with the native; while business and commercial development has shown that there is ample room in the Pacific for everybody in amicable understanding — if the ordinary rules of fair play are observed.

It will not do in dealing more closely with these problems to assume that German traders alone have been greedy and unscrupulous, or that Germany has received no incentive to grab all she could. The supineness of Great Britain and the methods of British company promoters have been her temptation and have provided excuses. When we challenge Germany, however, it is only fair to put against her official acts the undoubted trend of British policy through more than a century. As has been shown, Germany and Great Britain stand at opposite poles in their relation to the natives and to the islands of the Pacific; but there is plenty of evidence to prove that their nationals on occasion have vied with one another in spoiling the unfortunate folk in actual occupation of the various groups. Thus in the early days of British interest in New Zealand, there was a desperate attempt by prominent men in England and Australia to obtain possession of the islands by so-called claims made under agreement with natives who had no idea of what they were doing. Even the name of Wentworth, leading light in Australia in the first half of the nineteenth century, has been associated with a raid which would have deprived the natives of nearly the whole of one of the main

islands of New Zealand had it been successful. The Treaty of Waitangi, and Sir George Grey's subsequent firm administration, enabled Great Britain to protect the Maories and save the Dominion to the Empire, but the story of private unscrupulousness is an unpleasant one to read. So when the German firm of Godeffroy & Son was raiding Samoa, Americans were doing exactly the same thing; and they and others eventually put up claims which would have required the reclamation of Samoan foreshores twenty-five miles out of sea to satisfy them. In Fiji the ways of the Polynesian Company, when Thakombau was king, were making Australian enterprise a byword in the Pacific, and the claims for native lands were filed this time at Thakombau's expense and under his approval. Eventually the confusion and disorder which arose forced Great Britain's hands, and in 1874 Fiji was ceded and annexed. German historians can at any time draw a dark enough picture of British unscrupulousness if they go to the records and exclude altogether the British Government from their summary of any given situation. This is a very important qualification. It is perfectly true that individuals either singly or as shareholders in companies have done, or tried to do, things which must now

be reprobated, and which during the beginning and middle of the last century called forth much vigorous protest from able and honest men; but, broadly, it is not true that the British Government ever played the game that Germany did in the Pacific and elsewhere. The trouble was that Great Britain declined to act; and she accepted German assurances at face value. When she did act it was always reluctantly, and only when responsible chiefs in the groups concerned united to hand over any sovereignty they possessed to her. There never was any stirring up of strife among the natives to give an excuse for selling arms and ammunition in exchange for land; but rather was it charged against the mother country that her traders and enterprising business men were left in the lurch after they had legitimately prepared the way for her action. It is also true that nearly every group in the Pacific, and many islands, were offered to her and could have been acquired as the reasonable result of British activity and service on behalf of the natives. While there was undoubtedly much private conduct that could not be excused, there was thus also a vast amount of genuine pioneering work on the part of Britons as explorers, missionaries, traders, and planters. Allowing for this, however, the fact which

overshadows everything is that from the time when Captain Cook first entered the Pacific, to the present moment, two opposing spirits or policies must be taken into account, and the problem to-day is to find the mean between them which shall make reconcilement possible.

To illustrate this contention and for the purposes of argument, let the names of nine men be given here, of whom only two are alive at the present moment. They may be divided into two groups of four each, with Robert Louis Stevenson left standing between them but still of them. In the first group are Captain Cook, Samuel Marsden, John Williams, and Sir George Grey; and in the second must be placed George Brown, Lorimer Fison, James Chalmers, and Sir William MacGregor. At once it will be urged, perhaps, that these represent a very arbitrary selection. Why exclude other names, whatever be the purpose of choice just made? A reply may be offered that they stand out as representing the path between two extremes—the reconcilement of the spirit of European enterprise in exploration and colonisation with the spirit of earnest regard for native rights and customs everywhere in the Pacific. When Captain Cook landed on the New Zealand coasts he found the Maories

hostile, but he introduced the spirit of amity and of consideration for their claims, however asserted. This is the spirit of light which has been struggling for so long with the spirit of gloom and darkness, that in its extreme manifestations has found Germany to be its fullest embodiment. The Germans from the commencement thought of the native as a chattel, good to preserve perhaps, and later on worth the care and attention which one gives to accessories to wealth, but otherwise less than human. Captain Cook expressed the spirit of British enterprise in the Pacific in terms of tact and friendliness to natives whom he found to be bloodthirsty and aggressive. He won his way, until at last he could report well of them; and they in turn were ready to do anything for him. The first British sailor in these southern seas may have fought on occasion in the islands he visited, and his crews were not always above reproach when they landed; but he set a fine example for all who succeeded him, and he died at the hands of treacherous natives because he refused to believe them quite as bad as they were. He was the leader of a band in which the names of John Williams, Bishop Patteson, and many other noble men, are prominent as heroes who were murdered in carrying forward the great work of civilisation. Captain

Cook was not a missionary, but he certainly had something of the missionary spirit.

Samuel Marsden and John Williams were missionaries, and their names follow Captain Cook's because of the practical bent of their minds. The present War had not long broken out when the anniversary of Marsden's advent in New Zealand a hundred years ago was due to be celebrated. Just before Christmas Day, 1814, he landed as an envoy to Maories reported to be hopelessly savage, but on his own initiative, for his work in Australia under Governor Macquarie's administration would have kept any ordinary man at home. Governor Macquarie and he were continually sparring, and the former flatly forbade the venturesome Anglican clergyman to return to New Zealand later on. The first trip, however, was made under strong spiritual compulsion. Marsden was a man of many activities, full of enterprise as a colonist, expert in sheep-breeding, and keen to push forward the settlement in Australia, which had started under very ominous conditions. But he fought the Governor, and actually reported him, for not providing adequate accommodation for the unfortunate men and women who were being sent from England as convicts, often for trivial offences, the punishment of which was cruel in the extreme—appalling

sentences making the blood boil to-day. Marsden was genuinely concerned to better the condition of the people among whom he worked, but his sympathies had been strangely stirred by what he had seen and heard of the Maories. He believed that they were not receiving fair play and that they were capable of good. Not very long before he finally decided to go himself to New Zealand, there had been a dreadful massacre of white men, the officers and crew of the *Boyd*, seventy in number ; and this was the culmination of much trouble between the natives and those whom they looked upon as invaders. Since Captain Cook opened the way into the Pacific for British enterprise there had been an influx of adventurers, many of them whalers, others derelicts from islands or groups not far away, and escaped convicts from Australia. It was certain, under such conditions, that the Maories, while resenting outrage and injustice, would become the prey of the white man, and that the most abominable practices on both sides should be reported. Into this welter went Marsden with his life in his hand, again a pioneer like Captain Cook, believing honestly that the native could be fitted for civilisation and a higher life. He made eventually seven voyages, and established the best relations with the Maories.

His faith in them has been justified many times in the last century, but never so fully as in the years since August 1914. He began a work which literally "gave New Zealand to the New Zealanders," as a recent writer has said. Yet as missionary he kept specially in mind the needs of the body, and argued that the soul could not be captured by mere appeals in word and doctrine. The writer mentioned, Mr. Joseph Mede, says in his article in *Chambers's Journal* (April 1, 1916): "Marsden brought with him a veritable Noah's Ark, his ship carrying a few white men, with their wives and children, the men being artizans intended to teach the natives what were then called 'the arts of life,' or, as we should call them, industries. In his little boat of one hundred and ten tons, like Noah of old, he had animals of various sorts, horses and cows and sheep and pigs. Every pound of wool grown in New Zealand since, which has added to its wealth, is the indirect product of Marsden's enterprise. The annual export of butter and cheese from New Zealand now approaches three million pounds sterling in value, all of which is the outcome of Marsden's foresight. New Zealand has become a great horse-breeding and racing country; he could hardly have contemplated the latter, but that it is possible to have such fine horses is due

to Marsden. The printing-press—source of all information nowadays—was likewise introduced by him. Only the other day I was told of some of the type being found which Marsden sent to New Zealand."

This may be challenged, perhaps, as an exaggeration. New Zealand would eventually have received the sheep, horses, cattle, and the rest of the fruits of civilisation, because the white man and not the Maori has made the Dominion what it is; but, broadly, the claim on Marsden's behalf is a good one. He had the eye of the statesman, and went to New Zealand with his ship at the right time and in the right way. He was accepted by the Maories as their friend, and had been accredited to them by his hospitality to some of their number at his place in Parramatta, the centre of administration in Australia. Moreover, he preached the Gospel with the sincerity that convinces men—dark as well as white—and his name must be written up in large letters as one of the pioneers of Empire in the Pacific.

So must the name of John Williams be honoured. He has been described as a man who could never live within the confines of a single reef. His work as a missionary is full of the highest romance, while essentially it was the expression of his devotion to the South

Sea native wherever he found him. Williams was not content to sit down because he had achieved great things. These were rather the spur to still higher endeavour, and when the call came to go afield he went as a matter of course. Stationed at the island of Raiatea, the largest of the Society Islands, he heard of Raratonga, an island that Captain Cook had sought and never found. The missionary became explorer, and in 1823 he landed at Raratonga in the Hervey Island group, to make it the centre of a great circle of enterprise. There he built a vessel for himself under extraordinary conditions, without any of the usual aids and appliances in shipbuilding, and in her he made voyages worthy of Captain Cook himself. Truly the story of John Williams in the Pacific is a wonderful one. But the missionary had a very practical mind, and to him the people of the various groups and of Australia owe the Cavendish banana — the banana of commerce in those waters. The indigenous banana is large and coarse and unsuitable for export, but a great trade has been built up in the finer variety which the missionary first saw in the conservatories of Chatsworth, the seat of the Duke of Devonshire, during a visit to England in the thirties. Dr. George Brown tells the

story as it was told to him by the son of John Williams, who was then British Consul at Samoa. Father and son were together on that memorable visit in 1835, and they saw a banana that struck them as being especially suitable for the hurricane conditions of Samoa and other island groups. It was a plant of shorter, fuller growth than the tall native bananas, and the son suggested that they try to get some specimens. The Duke agreed to send some plants to Samoa, and these arrived, after nine months on the way, to all appearance quite dead. They were thrown out, but one of the missionaries picked out a plant that still seemed to be alive and put it in the ground. It grew and thrived, and from it have come all the plants since propagated throughout the Pacific. This banana, called by the family name of the house of Devonshire, came originally from China; and thus after a time it returned to the ocean from which it went, to serve millions of people with one of the finest food staples known. If John Williams had done nothing else in his life this would have been a fine memorial, but his work as a missionary was full of his thought for natives and white men; and his genius, like Marsden's, while eminently practical, never lost sight of the fact that man does not live by

bread alone. Maories have left New Zealand to fight for the Empire in this War, and they have more than justified Marsden's mighty faith in them in other ways. But, after all, it was Great Britain's determination to see justice done under the flag which has given them the zest and loyalty to become British soldiers. At the most critical time in New Zealand's history she sent them Sir George Grey to interpret the Treaty of Waitangi fairly; and while much controversy has arisen over land tenures and land claims in the Dominion, and while the natives are declared to have been pampered and spoiled, the result of treating them as they have been treated is worthy of our highest traditions. So in the same way the spirit of John Williams still lives in the hearts and consciences of a multitude of men and women, white and dark, right through the Pacific. He was murdered at Erromanga in the New Hebrides in 1839, just when his shipment of banana plants was being proved not to have failed; and in his death he was more than ever among the greatest of the pioneers of Empire.

CHAPTER VI

BRITISH POLICY IN THE PACIFIC

Grey and MacGregor—Grey's long public career—Shrewd treatment of natives—Doctrine of Imperial honesty—Relations with Sir James Stephen—Sent to save New Zealand—Solves Maori problem—Empire-builder.

PROMINENT among the pioneers of the Pacific in many instances have been its Governors, but especially noteworthy are Sir George Grey in the first of the two groups indicated, and Sir William MacGregor in the second. The genius for administration among native races, ready to fall into the abysses of the white man's civilisation, is the first thing which strikes one in any study of the careers of these two men; but above and beyond genius is the sympathy which comes from a genuine love of their fellows. Heart has reinforced brain in the work of both men, and the results have been astonishing in each case. Both Grey and MacGregor have made the British Empire visible to native eyes, and

the latter especially has made "Government" in New Guinea the very word of power among savages who have little or no idea of order and control. As illustrating the point, it was a New Guinea native, arrested for murder and handcuffed, who after escaping sent the handcuffs back to Port Moresby. He had got away into the mountains and could not be captured; but he would not keep the property of the Government about or near him, nor would he destroy it. He was not attempting a joke at Sir William MacGregor's expense, but paying him the highest compliment in his power. So Sir George Grey in his relations with the aboriginals of Western Australia, and in all his dealings with the Maories, was the white man, concerned to understand and assist the native races and prepare them for the benefits, while preserving them from the taints, of civilisation. He fittingly comes as fourth in our first group because he brought to a focus all that the other three had been attempting in the first half of the nineteenth century. One of his biographers claims for him that Queen Victoria and he, alone in the world, had been "ceaselessly and intimately connected with the progress and development, the happiness and welfare of the colonial portion of that Empire upon

which the sun never sets." George Grey was born a few days after the capture of Badajos during the Peninsular War in 1812; and his father died at the head of the storming party which once more helped to immortalise British valour. His first governorship came soon after the Queen ascended the throne, and his life was one long and almost continuous service in public positions during an eventful reign. In Australia, however, people are apt to forget, if they have ever read, that Lieutenant Grey, a subaltern in the British Army, was one of their first explorers. He landed on the coast of Western Australia in 1837, definitely to do exploring work, and in 1839 became Resident at King George's Sound, responsible for road-making and much beside. Here it was that he began to show the bent of his mind and a determination to get into sympathetic touch with native races. After studying him he could see possibilities in the Australian aboriginal, and he set to work to make him profitable both to the bit of Empire thereabout and to the race just brought into contact with the white man. He realised that a black fellow on road work would need some sufficient inducement to keep going, after the free ranging life he had led; and consequently, when the latter had done half a day's work, the

shrewd Resident paid him sixpence—half a day's wage. Under ordinary conditions this would mean no further work; but Grey found that, with another sixpence waiting him in the evening, the aboriginal wanted to go on. This sympathetic study of native character never ceased, and in New Zealand it produced extraordinary results.

But the Resident at Albany became Governor in South Australia in 1841, and there he made acquaintance with the Gibbon Wakefield proposals for colonisation in the island continent. The two spirits, one of regard for the Empire as a whole, and the other more of concern for the white man's share in it, prepared for urgent conflict; or, at any rate, each began then to take the other's measure. In the Colonial Office in London, meanwhile, Sir James Stephen became permanent Under-Secretary; and from 1839 to 1847 he represented a side, which in its way seemed to be as hopelessly inimical to the principles of Empire as were the freebooting and piracy of whalers, escaped convicts, and unprincipled traders. This may seem an extreme statement, but Sir James Stephen resolutely set his face against any extension of Imperial influence in the Pacific, because he was afraid that the native races under white control would be reduced

to slavery; while the freebooters and pirates thought of little else than an exploitation of the people living in the various island groups, which would soon have made Empire impossible.

Sir George Grey became the interpreter and servant of Empire because he was in hearty sympathy with Sir James Stephen, and the paradox may be explained by the fact that he could see how logically Imperial influence, power, and responsibility would increase with every honest attempt to deal fairly with the native races. When Grey, now Captain, went to New Zealand as Governor in 1845 to deal with a situation, consequent upon war with the Maories, which threatened the very existence of white settlement and control, Sir James Stephen had been permanent Under-Secretary at the Colonial Office for more than a decade; and he retired two years afterwards. Mrs. Fawcett says rightly that he was "an able, conscientious man of the highest character and indefatigable industry."[1] He had been associated with Zachary Macaulay and the rest of that fine band of men who fought and finally overthrew the system of slavery under the British flag, and at one time also an official of the Church Missionary Society. He was specially interested in the spread of Chris-

[1] *Life of the Right Hon. Sir William Molesworth*, p. 160.

tianity among the natives of the Pacific, but he was afraid of colonising schemes lest worse should befall than the existing barbarism; and no doubt the reports of outrages by white men upon natives, and by natives upon white men, in various islands and groups had made him a stubborn opponent of any extension of British responsibility in the South Seas. "He desired men to know of European civilisation only through contact with missionaries and their agents."[1] Yet this strong man, nicknamed "King Stephen" and "Mr. Over-Secretary Stephen," found his hand forced because the Government was obliged at last to annex New Zealand as a result of the activities of his critics and opponents. He would have nothing to do with Gibbon Wakefield and his friends, because he was afraid of them. The New Zealand Company was formed by them to stimulate settlement in the Antipodes, and to provide an outlet for the surplus population of the mother country; but it became cruelly aggressive as against the Maories and drove them into rebellion. As one looks back, Mrs. Fawcett's summing up of the position applies far beyond the epoch she was dealing with. She says: "These, then, were the antagonists: on the one side Buller, Molesworth, advocating with the

[1] *Life of Molesworth*, p. 160.

fervour of a religious propaganda, systematic colonisation, and the extension of free government and every other adjunct of civilised life which would help to make colonial life attractive; and on the other, Sir James Stephen, with the Colonial Office and the Church Missionary Society behind him, doing everything in his power to stop and thwart the schemes put forward by the Colonies."[1]

Thus, while Sir James Stephen was Under-Secretary, a man was wanted to go to New Zealand to preserve it for the Empire; because the people who had forced the hands of the British Government, in the first instance, had set the heather on fire and were likely to make possession a very difficult problem. Having annexed New Zealand the Government could not risk losing it; but how to deal with the thorny questions of land tenure and native claims, while a desperate war was raging, was the immediate difficulty. The Administrator in charge had broken down and the situation was fast getting out of hand. The Maories were fighting as they believed for their rights, and had shown themselves doughty warriors even against British soldiers and modern methods of warfare. Sir James Stephen must have been worried and

[1] *Life of Molesworth*, p. 161.

anxious as he looked round; and, probably on his advice, the British Government decided that Sir George Grey was the man for the emergency. The latter's reports from Western Australia, and later from South Australia, had shown him to be able and trustworthy; and in South Australia he had watched the development of the scheme of Gibbon Wakefield, and had not grown sympathetic. "The two men regarded the question of emigration from opposite points of the compass. Grey looked upon the colonies as the rightful heritage of succeeding generations and the future home of millions of the British poor. Wakefield regarded them as mines of wealth, to be exploited by the powerful governing classes for their own benefit. Grey's chief aim in life was to extend the blessings of these new lands as widely as possible, and to lay the foundations of the young communities in justice, wisdom, and constitutional freedom. Wakefield's object was to reproduce in the nascent states the distinctions, the inequalities, and the social barriers, which fetter popular liberties in older countries."

This quotation is taken from the *Life of Sir George Grey*, written by William Lee Rees, a member of the House of Representatives in New Zealand, and L. Rees. The biography was published in 1892 while Sir George Grey

was still alive, and not long after his appearance in Australia as a member of the Federal Convention presided over by Sir Henry Parkes, which was empowered "to consider and report upon an adequate scheme for a Federal Constitution," and was responsible for the "Draft Bill to constitute the Commonwealth of Australia." The notable things about the Convention of 1891, as far as Sir George Grey was concerned, were his fiery advocacy of "one man one vote," and his speeches throughout the country along lines which led to the formation of the Labour Party. The *Life and Times of Sir George Grey* does not do justice to Gibbon Wakefield and his associates, but it gives an opportunity of pointing out that there is another side to the question. When Gibbon Wakefield lifted up his voice in England in the 'thirties and 'forties, he got into the limelight of those days by his advocacy of principles considered to be extreme, but which were endorsed by such able men as Sir William Molesworth, the Mills, father and son, Charles Buller, and others, who were whole souled in their support and were just as anxious as he was to extend the Empire by preparing the way for great colonies. Their attack upon the convict system of Australia was as trenchant and determined as the campaigning of Wilber-

force and his friends against slavery; yet when it came to considering the claims of the native races in the Pacific there was cleavage and opposition. Permanent officials, inspiring their Ministers, would give Gibbon Wakefield and his friends little or no help in their colonisation plans; and yet the latter were humanitarian in their desire to help British emigrants and to prepare the way for them in Australia and New Zealand. But they undoubtedly found it difficult to think of the Empire as a whole, and would have sacrificed the natives brought under the British flag. Confusion, resulting from extreme views on both sides, was the fruit of the controversy, which is still with us. The Colonial Office in those days had an impossible idea of what the Maories and Australian aborigines were capable of; and Wakefield's schemes in New Zealand covered large acquisitions of land at the expense of people who had direct and definite claims upon British administration. Had it not been for Sir George Grey's wise policy, firm action, and large views, the British Empire in the Pacific would have suffered loss beyond repair; and had his policy for extending the Empire been accepted by British Ministers while he was Governor of New Zealand, we should not in these days be discussing the

mischief wrought by Germany during half a century of activity in Southern waters.

Sir George Grey sympathised with Sir James Stephen on one side, but he had no patience with the latter's policy of inaction. He could see that the Empire must grow, and that this policy would bear bitter fruit for future generations unless the facts of growth were fearlessly faced. When he went to New Zealand in 1847 he made war upon the Maories with as much vigour as though he were fighting the battles of the New Zealand Company; but this was because he could see the need for peace if he was to make a settlement fair to both sides. After he had defeated the rebels and rendered them impotent, he went to work to restore confidence, and became so successful that New Zealand prospered and from that moment never looked back. The colony was saved, and established upon sure foundations; and no one can say that the white man has not received full measure, pressed down, and running over of the good things produced. It is a white man's country to-day; but the Maories feel that justice has been done them. The land problem, no doubt, has still to be finally solved. Native lands are being gradually brought into use and settled; but the principles accepted under the Treaty of

Waitangi, and established under the Governorship of Sir George Grey, have been strictly followed. Here, then, is the explanation of the paradox that Sir George Grey was a true follower of Sir James Stephen and yet one of his greatest critics, in that he always believed in a growing Empire, and sought by every means in his power to aid its growth. "To his mind the future of the South Pacific presented a new possibility in the history of nations."[1] He went to work to commend the Empire to the native races everywhere; and at last the people of Tonga, Fiji, New Caledonia, Tahiti, and the Loyalty Islands, "were willing and anxious to come under the British flag."[2] New Zealand had become a rallying point. The Chiefs of the outlying groups were Sir George Grey's personal friends; and their children were educated in the land he ruled over as representing the English Queen. Bishop Selwyn was heartily with the Governor in all this, but nothing came of it. "The hopes of both Selwyn and Grey were destined to be unfulfilled. The innate savagery of the native character, the evil example of many of the traders frequenting those seas, and the entrance of French and German influence, always bitterly opposed to British missionary effort, defeated

[1] *Life of Sir George Grey*, p. 128. [2] *Ibid.* p. 129.

the plans of Selwyn. Grey's imperial views met with scant courtesy in London. Downing Street, with its usual incapacity and narrowness of vision, scoffed at the idea of an island empire in the Southern Ocean, and allowed France, Germany, and Spain to get a footing there, which is now (in 1892) a continual cause of alarm—a perpetual source of disquiet."[1] The above was written in the years following the annexation of German New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago, and it shows how earnestly New Zealand was discussing the developments bred of the reluctance of the British Government to take action in the Pacific, anticipating German designs. Yet the spirit behind British hesitation was not so much hostile to the thought of an extended Empire as blind to its inevitability. Sir George Grey, though representing the Government, pushed hard from one side while his opponents pushed just as hard from the other; and the Empire in the Pacific to-day is largely the resultant of the two forces. He was essentially an Empire builder, without any of the limitations which fetter the usefulness of other men, whose interests are wrapped up in trade or centred upon the enterprises of production. No name could have been more

[1] *Life of Sir George Grey*, pp. 129-130.

honoured in New Zealand and the Pacific than his in those days of doubt and difficulty; and when Robert Louis Stevenson, the champion of British ideals in Samoa, met him, it was to rejoice in the good fortune of such a foregathering. The two men had so much in common that one regrets mightily the lack of any record of their conversations and mutual impressions. Both had become great "missionaryites," to use Stevenson's word, coined after meeting James Chalmers and George Brown; and both were sick of the shilly-shallying of British Governments, afraid to go ahead while actually forced to do so. Each was, in fact, the best exponent of, and apologist for, the Empire; and the spirit they showed when dealing with the native races is really the spirit of Empire as the British people understand it to-day.

CHAPTER VII

MAKING A ROAD

Tusitala—His fight for the Samoans—His opinion of the German traders—As independent as Grey—Gratitude of Samoans—"The Road of the Loving Heart"—Useless German road in Bougainville—An English example—Follow Stevenson!

In a wilderness of ships the sea is the great highway, and among the innumerable islands of the Pacific a road is of less importance at first than a good anchorage or a safe harbour. The heading of the chapter, therefore, becomes more text than truth, because the making of roads so far points a moral rather than adorns a tale. Robert Louis Stevenson becomes the great example, for the "Road of the Loving Heart" at Vailima holds a wealth of meaning for the present student of island history. Tusitala, the teller of stories—Stevenson's Samoan name—was in a fair way of becoming the head of a clan in Samoa. He had shown his love for the Samoans so truly, with such an understanding of their

customs and character and so great an appreciation of their difficulties under the tyranny of Germany, that they looked to him as infinitely more than a friend. He was their champion, and would be their deliverer if he could. Much of Stevenson's untiring fight for them was never understood in his time. It was deemed to be the foolishness of a man of imagination, the madness of the novelist feeding his genius under an alien sky; and even the British officials in the Pacific got angry because he would persist, as they thought, in making mischief. Sir J. B. Thurston, High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, able administrator and full of sympathy and knowledge where the natives were concerned, was moved at one time seriously to think of ordering his deportation from Samoa; but the order never came. Stevenson, his pen so much mightier than the sword, added the inkpot to his other missiles against German treachery and unscrupulousness; and through the London *Times* he carried on his warfare. Eventually he wrote *A Footnote to History*, which to-day is a very different book to read from what it was before August 4, 1914. Everything therein written now stands out in different type and upon a whiter paper for those who have been following the present war in Europe; and especially is that so to people in

Australia whose anxieties have been alive ever since the activities of Theodor Weber culminated in the annexations of 1884.

Stevenson sets down, without much reserve, his thoughts upon the situation as it appeared to him in 1892. Godeffroy's, the firm with a Gargantuan name, was straddled across everything. "This piece of literature," as the writer of stories called the name, had in practice been "shortened to the D.H. & P.G., the Old Firm, the German Firm, the Firm, and (among humorists) the Long Handle Firm." Its sign was over the island long before annexation, so that Germans "were inspired with a sense of the greatness of their affairs and interests." No one must speak or even think ill of Germany. "One who had returned from Tutuila on a mail cutter complained of the vermin with which she was infested. He was suddenly and sharply brought to a stand. The ship of which he spoke, he was reminded, was a German ship." And this serious belief in the sacredness of everything German was carried through, so that the Samoans themselves became only so many cattle to be used and slaughtered for the glory of Germany. It is interesting to read Stevenson's short account of Theodor Weber. He says: "John Caesar Godeffroy himself had never visited the islands;

his sons and nephews came, indeed, but scarcely to gather laurels; and the mainspring and head-piece of this great concern, until death took him, was a certain remarkable man of the name of Theodor Weber. He was of an artful and commanding character; in the smallest thing or the greatest, without fear or scruple; equally able to affect, equally ready to adopt, the most engaging politeness or the most imperious airs of dominion. It was he who did most damage to rival traders; it was he who most harried the Samoans; and yet I never met one, white or native, who did not respect his memory."

But Stevenson has a word to say against both Britons and Americans in this connection; and he even compared, or allowed the comparison between, the Long Handle Firm and John Company—the Empire-building East India trader of the eighteenth century with the German trader of the nineteenth. His fight on behalf of the Samoans was for fair play, for a better understanding, and for relief from German grab and greed. He was the Briton abroad, with eyes cleansed and with a heart full of indignation for the wrongs that were being done against Samoa. And yet Robert Louis Stevenson made no disguise of his knowledge of the instability of the native character, or of the colossal task ahead

in giving the natives a chance in a new world. His *Footnote to History* is such instructive reading because it goes to the root of the matter in all our dealings with the islands and groups of islands in the Pacific, and because with his inimitable grace as a writer he combined the spirit of a seer and the mighty heart of a born leader of men. This is how one feels about Stevenson in days of earthquake and eclipse; and because of this one associates him with Sir George Grey, Dr. George Brown, and Sir William MacGregor, and no less with Lorimer Fison, James Chalmers, and Captain Cook. He was a discoverer, a pioneer, and in his way a great missionary. Visionary undoubtedly, difficult to hold, radical, like Sir George Grey, to his finger-tips while full of the conservatism of the clansman, he was the champion of a down-trodden people and prominent in a band of men who have helped to build the Empire in spite of Governments—or because Ministers or Under-Secretaries at last were forced to see with their eyes. Sir George Grey was continually in hot water. He was recalled from South Africa, when Governor of Cape Colony, because he would think and act for himself; and yet he was the man who practically saved India for the Empire in the days of the Mutiny by his readiness to do the right thing at

once because it was right. He despatched troops from the Cape at the critical moment and turned the scale against the Sepoys. Sir George Grey in his later years was continually being voted a nuisance; and yet in old age he could speak like a prophet and inspire confidence in men waiting a leader, so that Australian working men hailed him almost as a deliverer. Stevenson had much in common with him, and both men have been attacked, reviled, but never suppressed. These, then, each in turn appealed to the native races with astonishing effect. Grey's name became a talisman in New Zealand. Long after he had been Governor for a second time, Maories only knew of one Governor; and at a banquet where leading chiefs appeared as guests, and the health of the King's representative was called, it was Sir George Grey's health that was drunk in spite of protests and explanations on every side.

So in Samoa, the "Road of the Loving Heart" was built to Stevenson's estate at Vailima as a token of love and gratitude. The Samoans regarded him already as one of themselves. He was a member of the clan; and Dr. Brown thinks that had he lived he would have become a genuine chief of a new Stevenson clan. He had succoured and fed the Samoans in prison; he had fearlessly

visited them in their camps when arrayed against the white man for battle; and after war had ceased, and a *modus vivendi* had been arranged, chiefs and commoners combined in the hard and much-disliked work of road-making to show their gratitude and to give him service. It was a most affecting incident, and Stevenson was profoundly impressed. The final scene so soon after was a fit sequel. In less than three months he was dead, and his step-son describes the mourning: "The great Union Jack that flew over the house was hauled down and laid over the body, fit shroud for a loyal Scotsman. He lay in the hall which was ever his pride, where he had passed the gayest and most delightful hours of his life, a noble room with open stairway and mullioned windows. In it were the treasures of his far-off Scottish home; the old carved furniture, the paintings and busts that had been in his father's house before him. The Samoans passed in procession beside his bed, kneeling and kissing his hand, each in turn, before taking their places for the long night-watch beside him. No entreaty could induce them to retire, to rest themselves for the painful and arduous duties of the morrow. It would show little love for Tusitala, they said, if they did not spend their last night beside him. Mourn-

ful and silent, they sat in deep dejection, poor, simple, loyal folk, fulfilling the duty they owed their chief."[1] This may be discounted by critics as beyond the reach of practical folk. The new Pacific, like the new world born after the Great War, must be ruled and developed by practical people and not by idealists like Stevenson, hot-headed administrators like Sir George Grey, or faddists like the multitude of missionaries who have given so much trouble wherever they have gone. This, then, raises the issue of road-making as taken for the heading of the present chapter; and it will be discussed in its different phases to the end of the book.

The writer has two other roads in his mind as he opens the argument. In Bougainville, one of the two great islands known heretofore as the German Solomons, is a road forty miles long, which leads nowhere in particular and is never used as a road should be. It was not made to serve traffic, but presumably to educate or discipline the natives. There were no loving hearts in its making, either on the side of the German masters who ordered it, or on the part of the Solomon Islanders who sweated without pay to give it being. Along its course were built rest-houses, which in time rotted and disappeared

[1] *A Letter to Mr. Stevenson's Friends* (printed for private circulation).

because nobody ever occupied them or indeed ever tried to find them. As far as the present writer can learn they were out of sight somewhere along the line of road and were neither for use nor ornament. They involved work, and that was the end of it. The German taskmaster or manager responsible for the road's completion, when it was finished, found that unless he did something no soul would ever traverse its forty miles of loneliness, and in very shame he bought a vehicle and a horse and kept it company with his wife day by day. On the same principle a swamp had been filled up. There were many acres of land all round waiting to be occupied or cultivated, but the German mind, bent upon asserting authority, decided to fill in the swamp; and again the natives sweated without pay to make a reclamation that could be seen for all time. They had to be fed, and that cost some hundreds of pounds; but German officialdom had been justified. Is it any wonder that Bougainville natives tried hard to swarm over into the British Solomons, where their labour was badly wanted, where the conditions of work were fair, and where the pay was good?

But in an island of the Pacific, under the Union Jack, at one time there was a British officer who had watched German methods and become

enamoured of them. This, of course, was before the War. Like so many of his countrymen in Europe, this Briton thought that Germany could do no wrong, at least in ways of discipline and organisation. So on a certain day the order went round that the natives were to meet for road-making. A stretch of road was laid out and made—also to nowhere in particular. It does not appear that rest-houses were provided, or that afterwards the officer had to buy a carriage and pair to keep the road from feeling lonely or abandoned; but there was a sequel. When the following year was running its course it was discovered that the food supplies of the island had run out and famine was imminent. How could this have happened in a fertile group of islands in the Pacific? The reply was that the official in his wisdom, or lack of wisdom, had failed to note that when he issued his ukase to build a road the critical time of planting had arrived; and as in that group this important duty can only be performed successfully during one month of the year, the road was finally responsible for the threatened famine. No planting had been done, but the road was made. It was most unfortunate, and the Colonial Office in London was much exercised about the business before things could be straightened out. The official was disciplined,

and may still be under discipline for all the present scribe knows; but the point is that the British Government in that part of the Pacific received a blow. It was discredited. A German Commissioner, of course, would have survived because Germany is always right; but where the milder British ways are in evidence there must be no such follies. These efforts at road-making, however, contain the lesson that the official mind, operating upon natives, is apt to be like a machine gun. It can keep order wonderfully and things will be done, but nobody loves it except the man behind it, and on occasion it spreads death and ruin. Germany's road-making has built no colonies worth the name; and unless Great Britain can somehow soften purely official rule in the days to come, she will find her problems grow in complexity. In the past in the Pacific she has won through because at heart she has desired to do the right thing and to protect the native against the white man. But her impulse has been to achieve this by doing as little as possible. This desire to serve has found expression through men who have gone forth like Captain Cook, Samuel Marsden, John Williams, Sir George Grey, and a host of others; and Robert Louis Stevenson followed them to show that a writer without official authority could still be an

Empire builder. Not one of these men had the official mind, or could understand the ways of administration bound in red tape. They were on the spot and saw for themselves what was the truth about the native in his relation to the white man ; and because they thought and acted on the facts, and loved truth and fair dealing, roads were made for them. They never dreamed of asking for roads just to show authority or to teach natives the value of work under new conditions. Half the trouble Great Britain has found in the Pacific has come because she chose the right men for almost impossible tasks, but was apt either to censure or ignore them. On the other hand, she sometimes sent the wrong men and stood by them. It is now becoming clear that, while the native must be guarded, the white man in these island groups has rights and cannot be forgotten or put aside. Either way the official mind will make trouble, and yet there must be officials. This, of course, is so much platitude; but how can the situation be stated without resort to platitude? Only as able men with sound common sense are given large power can we hope to make much progress in the new order; and only as the natives are won to make roads of their own accord, and because they love to do so, will the white man's burden be lifted. The burden will

then be rolled along instead of chafing his shoulders and spoiling his temper; and this is the lesson of Stevenson's "Road of the Loving Heart."

CHAPTER VIII

BRITISH MISSIONARIES IN THE PACIFIC

South Sea Bubbles—Miss Gordon-Cumming defends missionaries—Their fine work—Dr. George Brown—His pluck and energy—His museum of native work—Art, industry, music—Fison's verdict—Compiling a language—Policy of sympathy—The complaining trader—The conquest of Taleli—Keep your word!—A tribute from a Chief Justice—Stevenson and Müller.

THE missionary has been a continual difficulty for folk who either discuss the problems of the Pacific at home in an arm-chair, or who meet him abroad as administrators, traders, and planters. Sometimes it is the traveller who makes fun of, or gibbets, him. As a generalisation this is open to criticism, because able administrators like Sir George Grey and Sir William MacGregor have been his best friends, and many traders and planters have assisted and blessed him. Moreover, travellers like Miss Gordon-Cumming have explained and approved his work and met his enemies in the

gate with satisfying rejoinder. A book was published in the 'seventies, when missionary work in Fiji was bearing some of its finest fruit, entitled *South Sea Bubbles*; and it was written by a peer and a doctor—the former now known to be the Earl of Pembroke and the latter George Henry Kingsley, brother of Charles and Henry Kingsley. In this story of travel the missionaries were challenged as living upon and exploiting the natives; their lives were in effect declared to be hypocritical or useless; and the missions generally were branded as a failure. As far as Fiji was concerned, Miss Gordon-Cumming, who had lived there, met the indictment with a flat denial, and showed conclusively that had it not been for the missionary there would have been no British flag flying in 1875. Nothing more wonderful is to be found in history than this winning of a native race from the most abominable cannibalism and bestialism to Christianity; and the accompanying story of long self-denial and self-sacrifice is full of inspiration as part of the greater story of Empire. But it is still true that mission work in the Pacific did meet with wide and continued opposition when moving on, and with the jealousy and dislike of administrators and business men when successful and established.

Even to-day, while its triumphs cannot be denied, and although the heroism and achievements of missionaries everywhere in the island groups are accepted, there is much misunderstanding and covert abuse. Yet at every turn one finds that the white man, whether as trader or as planter, has been served by the missionary and that the latter has opened paths and subdued tribes to the former's undoubted profit and well-being. There are, no doubt, missionaries and missionaries, just as there are wise men and foolish in the business community and in the world of administration. But as we all claim to be judged on the average, so mission work must be taken; and in the Pacific it is full of magnificent achievement.

In the second of our groups of great Empire builders in the Pacific, it will be seen that three are missionaries—George Brown, Lorimer Fison, and James Chalmers—and that Sir William MacGregor stands alone as administrator. In the first group are two missionaries—Samuel Marsden and John Williams; and thus out of the nine men already named the majority are missionaries. This will be met, perhaps, with a peremptory challenge in several directions, because undoubtedly another list could be offered in which the names of missionaries would be in

a minority or absent; and yet the list as now offered has been drafted advisedly and after long study of, and contact with, those responsible for the conditions of settlement and enterprise in the Pacific. Without the missionary, it must be said again, we should be considering a vastly different and an infinitely worse outlook than exists to-day. But the missionaries chosen to illustrate this position have been leaders in the highest sense of the term—explorers and builders of Empire, while spreading the truths of Christianity as their first business.

Here, for instance, is Dr. George Brown, alive and alert at eighty years of age in Sydney, a living book on the South Seas; and so full of good things that Robert Louis Stevenson wanted to lay hands upon him in 1890 and write his life in spite of reluctance and denial. Before the present writer lies the author's presentation copy of *A Footnote to History* with the inscription—

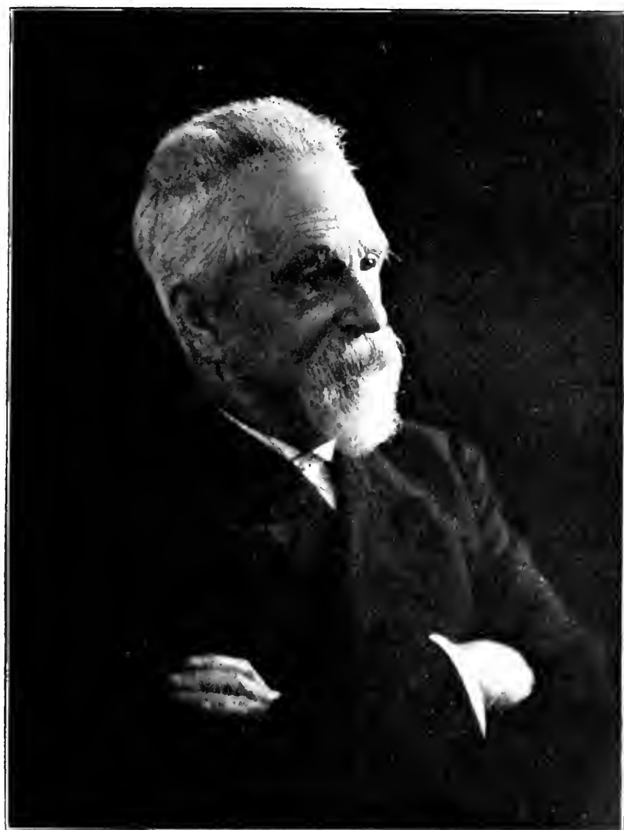
DEAR BROWN—Please accept this attempt to tell the truth from—Yours sincerely,

ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON.

It is dated 3rd June 1893. There is a world of meaning behind this, because the missionary had become a close friend of Stevenson and his

family; and when Mrs. Stevenson's ashes were sent from San Francisco to be deposited at her husband's tomb on the mountain above Vailima, Dr. Brown was asked to hold the service at the grave. On the day that he was due to start from another of the islands for Upolu a great gale was blowing, and the Stevenson party never dreamed that he would attempt the journey. The service, therefore, was held in his absence in the morning; but in the afternoon the aged missionary appeared as in duty bound. He had not been a sailor for nothing, nor had he as a navigator for many years in and out of the various groups been afraid of wind or weather. He had set out in a small launch and arrived, to the amazement of everybody; though for a whole week after no vessel entered Apia harbour from the port he left, so severe was the storm. This is a good illustration of the spirit of the man who practically conquered the Bismarck Archipelago for the Germans, and who has never ceased to fight for Great Britain and her flag in the Pacific.

In his home in Sydney Dr. Brown is surrounded by trophies and specimens from the Pacific obtained through a long life; and his museum is probably the finest private collection of its sort in the world. It is mentioned here because it



Photo, The Crown Studio.

DR. GEORGE BROWN.

contains a capital summary of what the native has done without tools, such as the European counts them to be; and it explains his possibilities for training in the arts and industries. The wonderful imitativeness of the natives of the Solomon Islands is shown in the way they can etch upon bamboo. Dr. Brown has several lengths of bamboo covered with exact copies of illustrated advertisements taken from the *Sydney Mail*, showing watches with the milling upon their cover cases, the designs of brooches —one with "Forget-me-not" worked in jewels upon it—and various other articles chosen and reproduced to the life. A caricature from *Snap Shots* shows an Irishman's face exactly. When one remembers the conditions it is all very wonderful. But the way in which wood is carved and decorated is astonishing. The central figure in the museum is a native (a Solomon Islander) drawing a bow, carved to quarter life-size, and the pose is almost perfect. Dr. Brown had seen a similar figure with a rifle, but as he preferred something more in keeping with native life, he asked the artist to try the bow. He never expected to see anything of so much value achieved, but in due course the carving was ready for him. The native artist seemed to work for the pleasure of it, and as a means

of self-expression, using only a piece of hoop iron sharpened, as a chisel. He also shaped and decorated a wonderful baton which lies in a case in the museum. It looks like a great chief's token of authority, but Dr. Brown says it was not used as such, nor was it intended to be so used. It is about 4 ft. long, the handle worked in an extraordinary design of a crocodile swallowing a pig, and the other end finished in perfect curves, outlined and emphasised in mother-of-pearl. The whole thing is a work of art, and truly so because it was made under the stimulus of the artistic spirit and not to order. It was just a work of leisure, leading nowhere, but done for the love of it.

This museum differs from others because it contains so much that could never be obtained again. It is full of real Island curios—not a "fake" among them—gathered during the course of a long career in the Pacific, but mostly acquired from, or given by, the natives before the white man had become a familiar object on their beaches with his demands or wheedlings for their possessions. On one table, for instance, are two small baskets woven from fern so artistically but so closely that they will hold water; they were obtained by Dr. Brown in New Britain where not a white man had before landed. Asked

what thing in his museum represented best the native's capacity for invention and industry, Dr. Brown led the way to a case on the wall in which could be seen a loom with a web of very fine matting in it—the shuttle, bar, and other details being complete and well made. Nothing could be better than the weaving as shown in this little exhibit, taken just as it was from the hands of the natives at Santa Cruz, a group not far from New Britain and New Ireland. Elsewhere is a beautiful mat given to Dr. Brown by the exiled Samoans on their recent return home, thanks to the conquest by the Allies of German possessions in the Pacific. It had come from the Carolines, and is a fine specimen of plaiting; but the design and colouring of the borders show real artistic merit. Yet the bands of native grass from the Solomons, woven in colours, are finer than anything else of the sort in the museum. The natives from that group excel in decorative work; and one has only to place them beside similar ornamental bands from New Britain and New Guinea, decorated with shells, to appreciate the difference. Some so-called chiefs' spears are full of interest because of the wonderful patterns, no two alike, woven in coloured grasses through their whole length. It is not difficult to paint such designs on wood, but here is plaiting so fine

and artistic that the eye rejoices in it, even while made to ache by following the patterns through their extraordinary detail.

In musical invention, again, Dr. Brown shows his visitors, by way of example, a couple of instruments in shape like gigantic potatoes or yams, with three lips cut down the length of one surface and hollowed beneath to give room for the necessary vibrations. His grand-daughter illustrates the method of use by taking one of these curious musical-boxes on her lap, and while holding it firmly between her knees passes the palms of her hands in quick succession towards her upon the indented surface. The resulting chord, so one of Sydney's leading organists affirms, makes a perfect "major triad"; and the sound is strangely like what one could imagine a giant's yodel to be. This prolonged note on a dark night through the trees of an island forest would surely work some magic at the behest of those responsible for it.

Fiji and Samoa are both well represented in this collection, did space permit of further description. But for a summary of the position of these groups Lorimer Fison may be aptly quoted. In the Introduction to his *Tales from Old Fiji* he has a note which points out that the Fijian—and this must be held to apply also

to the Samoan and the Tongan—takes no mean place in the scale of native social life. "Long before the white man visited his shores he had made very considerable progress towards civilisation," says Dr. Fison, and continues: "He was a skilful and diligent husbandman who carried out extensive and laborious agricultural operations; he built good houses, whose interior he ornamented with no little taste, carved his weapons in graceful and intricate forms, manufactured excellent pottery, beat out from the inner bark of a tree a serviceable papyrus-cloth, upon which he printed, from blocks either carved or ingeniously pieced together, elegant and elaborate patterns in fast colours; and, with no tools better than a stone hatchet, a pointed shell, and a firestick, he constructed large canoes capable of carrying more than a hundred warriors across the open sea. He was a cannibal, it is true, which some of his neighbours—the Tongans, for instance—were not; but cannibalism has been found, as in the case of the Aztecs, in connection with a civilisation of no mean type. He had a natural grace and dignity of bearing which would have sat well on any English gentleman; his ordinary manner was courteous and even amiable, and he was hospitable to all strangers whom he did not feel it necessary to eat! In short, under

certain favourable circumstances Mr. Wallace might have spent a considerable time with him, even in the old heathen days, without forming an estimate of him less favourable than that which he has given us of the head-hunting tribes in his charming work on the Malay Archipelago." This is all to be found in Dr. Brown's museum, set forth in weapons, pottery, cloth, ornaments, and models of canoes. One of the latter gives a good idea of the native's way with the sea, for its original could do at least twelve knots an hour under favourable conditions. Dr. Brown gives particulars of one voyage in which time and distance were known; and the rate of travel worked out at something over the above-mentioned speed. But the museum is full of wonders—of beautiful plumages as well as of horrible reminders of cannibalism. It is a library into the bargain. It shows, for instance, how men like Dr. Brown have helped to fix native languages and to preserve native words and records, and how capable the natives are to assist. He told the writer that when a missionary in Samoa he had among his native teachers a man of considerable ability and of wide knowledge of the group and its language. One day Dr. Brown gave him a quire of foolscap and told him to make a note from time to time of any unusual

traditions or peculiar words and phrases that came to mind. In a couple of months the Samoan brought back the paper filled to overflowing, and the missionary was delighted. A suitable present was given, and more paper. The outcome was that Dr. Brown eventually possessed a special collection of Samoan songs and folk-lore which proved of inestimable value, later on, when the Rev. G. Pratt was preparing his dictionary. The latter was surprised to find that, although he thought he had covered all the ground, there were at least 500 words about which he knew nothing. These were incorporated, and Dr. Brown's sagacity was acknowledged.

Now, this missionary has won his way right through the Western Pacific with natives and white men alike. In Samoa to-day his name is one to conjure with; and on his last visit to the group he was presented by natives with two valuable mats as a mark of special honour. It was never heard that a distinguished person had been given two such mats at once. The legend in Samoan upon one of them, preserved with others of equal value in the museum, runs: "Taken from the walls of the house of Malietoa." It could be sold in Samoa for several pounds sterling, and probably for twice as much in Tonga. Dr. Brown is an authority on Samoa

and the Samoans, as his writings prove; but his museum shows that his range of interest and knowledge of the natives is as wide as the Pacific. He contends that, with wise administration and under sympathetic control, the natives may be successfully trained for work upon the higher levels to which civilisation is taking them; but purely official minds will always find it difficult to understand the missionary's point of view. Regulations and ordinances intended to protect natives, regarded as children, may be made instruments of torture and oppression against them, and against the white man as well, if there is no genuine sympathy with the objects of mission enterprise. Dr. Brown knows better than any man living what the native can be as a bloodthirsty cannibal, and he has seen him in all stages of pure savagery. He knows also the difficulties under which the white man labours who seeks to make a living in the Islands, whether as trader or planter; and it is not too much to say that he commands the respect and enjoys the friendship of most if not all of them. When in Sydney they visit him; and his house is open to all who care to call, from the University Professor, seeking special knowledge of tropical diseases, to the trader, who is supposed to be the missionary's hardest critic when he is not a mortal enemy.

An example of this general appeal which Dr. Brown makes to those who know him, may be found in a recent visit from a trader just up from the Islands. He was drawn, as many another had been, by the old missionary's personality; but this time he had a grievance. It was essential to discuss the truth about a matter of interest to himself. After a friendly chat over things of concern to both, the trader asked whether it was true that Dr. Brown, in connection with a possible sale of land in one of the island groups in which the former was concerned, had warned a would-be purchaser against him. The trader said he had lost the sale of the piece of land for that reason. This appeal was a tribute to Dr. Brown's force of character and probity, even at a distance; but what affected him most was the trader's trust in him, and he said so. Here was a man who had been told that Dr. Brown had warned some one, whose name was given, against him; and instead of denouncing the missionary he had come to him for a personal affirmation or denial. As the possible purchaser was living in Sydney and could be reached on the telephone, Dr. Brown suggested that they get into communication with him at once. Taking the receiver from the instrument and handing the spare one to the

trader, so that he might himself hear answers as well as questions, though the man at the other end knew nothing, it became clear that the truth lay in the opposite direction. Not only had Dr. Brown not warned him against the trader, but contrariwise had given the latter a good character; and while the trader would no doubt have accepted the missionary's word, it was more satisfactory to know directly what had happened. This little episode occurred almost under the writer's eyes, certainly within an hour of his arrival on the scene, and the facts were recounted by Dr. Brown without any idea of their publication.[1]

But there is nothing wonderful in it, to those who know the missionary. His autobiography contains a fine tribute of confidence and affection from the native side in the incident given of the surrender of one of the worst characters in New Britain—the notorious Taleli, who was responsible for the murder of native teachers

[1] Just as the MS. of this book is being prepared for despatch to London, Dr. Brown has shown me a very valuable addition to his collection of native curios sent up from the Solomons by the trader above mentioned, as a slight acknowledgment of his esteem. It is also apparently a token of contrition for having believed too hastily that the doctor had not treated him quite fairly. The belt or girdle is made of native money in shades of pink and white, and must have been an heirloom, for money could not have bought it in the ordinary way. As an artistic piece of work it is nearly perfect; and it crowns most appropriately the treasures from the Solomon Islands in Dr. Brown's museum.

and a native minister. Reference has already been made to this massacre and to Dr. Brown's firm handling of a situation that seemed certain to end in the death of every white man and woman on the island. Any one may read the particulars for himself as the missionary offers them in simple, straightforward language; and the terrible experience for the leader and the led will then be better understood. Dr. Brown did not wait for Taleli to finish the job, but gave him such a lesson that the savage learned to respect the white man, who had come not to trade but to be his friend and helper. Taleli was a man of parts, feared all through the district, and able to command something like leadership by his force of character and undoubted mental ability. Dr. Brown tried hard to get hold of this man and make peace with him, as he had succeeded in doing with the rest of the people concerned in the outrages. After much effort the missionary met the murderer in his own village, and as the result of a long talk persuaded him to pay, as the other chiefs had done, for the injuries committed. Yet when the shell-money was brought it showed that Taleli evidently thought the missionary a fool, as it was only about half of what had been stipulated. When at last this was supplemented

and accepted, to be returned to Taleli with a present—for Dr. Brown was satisfied with prestige and actual power in the bargain—there was further talk. Taleli's master describes the close of this extraordinary incident: "I then took up a stone and said to him: 'Now, Taleli, suppose I take this stone out into the blue ocean and drop it overboard, what would become of it?' He said it would go to the bottom out of sight. 'Well,' I said, 'this stone represents our quarrel, and I fling it now into the ocean, and it is gone out of sight and can never be seen again.' He was evidently very much impressed; and ever after that when I was visiting his place, I went about his village without the slightest fear. I remember once walking with him, when we came upon the ruins of his large canoe, which we had broken up. He looked down at me and smiled, pointing to the broken planks, and then put his arm around me in a most friendly way."[1]

Still later, Dr. Brown fell ill and lay groaning on the floor of a house that he was trying to finish. Taleli, carrying the rifle which was always in his arms, came in, and asked what was the matter. When the missionary said he felt very bad the savage expressed sympathy and lay down beside him. A price had been placed on

[1] *George Brown, D.D., Pioneer-Missionary and Explorer*, p. 285.

his head by the German authorities—though this was before annexation—but he went to sleep like a child beside the sick man in perfect confidence. This personal influence with the natives was won through a genuine understanding of their character, as also because they found that Dr. Brown's word was his bond. Two principles are emphasised by him in the autobiography; and these explain much of the process by which a missionary with courage and common sense may become father and minister to whole tribes. First, the white man must be absolutely loyal to a promise made, no matter how trivial; and, second, he must make no vain threats. The trader who threatens to knock a native down and is knocked down himself becomes a laughing-stock; and if he further threatens to bring gunboats and they do not arrive, he is probably a source of disaster to others beside himself. By a strict observance of these simple rules Dr. Brown explains his wonderful hold upon the natives. Never did he make a promise without fulfilling it to the letter, if physically able; and never did he utter a threat that he was not prepared to carry out even at the expense of his life. How truly he represents the missionary factor in the white man's possession of the Pacific may be seen in a letter written to

him by the Hon. H. S. Berkeley, Chief Justice of Fiji, on 2nd October 1900. Dr. Brown had delivered a lecture on the Pacific at Suva, and the Chief Justice had not been able to be present. After expressing regret, he continues: "I suppose there is now no living man, capable of reducing his information to a lecture, who possesses such a wide knowledge of the Islands of the Pacific and their inhabitants as you do. Your experience in the Pacific has been unique, and your reputation amongst the Islanders is about equally so. Far and wide through the Islands have I travelled. Everywhere have I heard the name of the missionary Brown, in many places used as a household word to denote energy, activity, religious zeal. The best years of your life, in fact practically your whole life has been spent in missionary work in the South Seas. The best years of my life, too, have been spent in the Pacific in another sphere of labour, and consequently there is a natural bond of sympathy between us. . . . I do not hesitate to say that the debt which Fiji owes to the Wesleyan Missionaries cannot be over-estimated. They have been mainly instrumental in converting a race of bloodthirsty cannibal pagans into a religious God-fearing people. They have turned a people who only obeyed the law of the

club into an orderly and law-abiding section of Her Majesty's subjects. And this has been done within the memory of persons still alive. It is mainly by the precept and example of the missionaries that peace and good order can now be preserved throughout this large group of Islands by a few magistrates and a handful of native constables. To them, too, belongs solely the credit for such secular education as the Fijian possesses. Their schools are numbered by the hundreds, and the children attending these schools by the thousands, and every school-house is a place where on the Sabbath the Fijians meet in prayers. In places where, within the memory of persons now living, was heard the dread sound of the drum calling to the cannibal feast and the clash of spears in the war dance, is now heard the selfsame drum calling the people to church and the sounds and psalms and hymns of praise and thanksgiving. It requires that one should go among the Fijians and see them in their home life, that one should spend a Sabbath in a Fijian town, in order fully to appreciate the wonderful change in the direction of civilisation and social progress that has been wrought by the Wesleyan Mission in Fiji. It is the intimate knowledge which I possess in that direction, added to the prominent part which you

have for so many years taken in the great work, which gives such added interest to me in a lecture by you on the Islands of the Pacific and their native inhabitants." A whole chapter could not put the position more forcibly; but the Chief Justice of Fiji is still alive. His word is that of a living witness and not the testimony of one who cannot be cross-examined.

George Brown is the man who, with James Chalmers, helped to alter Robert Louis Stevenson's ideas of the missionary in the Pacific. The writer of stories had been prejudiced against missions, had heard many things, and read much, not to their credit. But he had not before been brought into such close contact with men like Brown and Chalmers as a trip on the s.s. *Lubeck* on one occasion rendered possible. As better knowledge grew Stevenson became enthusiastic and could never say too much in their favour, or of their work. Like himself, while understanding the victimised natives, they had fought and were fighting against evil ways in white men; and the three were united in absolute loyalty to the flag and in their faith in an Empire that should give both white men and brown the fullest opportunity for self-expression and usefulness. But Dr. Brown was always as eager to extend the world's knowledge

of the conditions under which life must be lived in the Islands of the Pacific, as he was to preach the Gospel. He insists that the Empire will not be extended and strengthened merely by saving men's souls. Their bodies must be guarded and their surroundings studied and ordered. Thus, with his work as a missionary, he was ever investigating, collecting, and tabulating results for the information of men of science. His collections of birds and plants in New Britain and New Ireland made a great sensation at the meetings of the Zoological Society in London during 1877, 1878, and 1879. The report of proceedings gives a full account of them, with plates. Dr. Brown had been asked by Baron von Müller to look out for specimens of the flora and fauna of the islands in question. The former's enthusiasm as a collector in Samoa had commended him to the great botanist; and when the first batch of specimens was submitted to him, the Baron found his trust in the missionary amply justified. He had asked specially that Dr. Brown should, if possible, obtain botanical specimens from the higher altitudes. He turned over plant after plant which had been obtained under exceptionally difficult conditions in a journey across New Ireland, where white men had never been seen before. Dr. Brown

had put together triplicates of all he had found, carrying one set of plants himself, and letting the natives carry the rest. On some alarm or other the latter promptly threw their burdens away—they had not disguised their boredom at the missionary's folly in gathering such rubbish —and fled. Dr. Brown stuck to his own set in spite of everything; and it amused him to see Von Müller handle the specimens without comment. The Baron was testing the statement that certain plants had been obtained at certain specified altitudes. "Yes, reverend sir," he said at last, as he held up one plant, "you could not have got this begonia under 3000 feet. Yes, you have been so high." It was typical of all that Dr. Brown had done. He has been as good as his word to white man and native; and now as he discusses the problems of the new Pacific he is quite sure of one thing. Germany can never be permitted to return to her possessions; but the British Empire, either through Australia or by other means, must be prepared to make greater sacrifices for, and to obtain a truer understanding of, dominion in these wide waters if development is to be fruitful and sustained.

CHAPTER IX

MACGREGOR THE EMPIRE-BUILDER

Papers or personality?—MacGregor's power—"Symposifex"—Medical officer in Fiji—Tact with natives—The "chief" system—Kava-drinking—Goes to New Guinea—"In deep water with hands tied"—One use of a rifle—From murderer to constable—A free hand—Admiral Bosanquet's testimony—Friend of the native.

THERE are two ways of writing an account of the Pacific in its relation to Australia and the Empire. The first is by a study of the documents, and the second by direct contact with men who have made its history in the last half century. As to the former method material is plentiful enough. Blue books, works of travel, biographies, and last but not least the columns of Australian newspapers, will give quite a good story of the cross-currents in diplomacy, missionary enterprise, trade, and direct piracy, that make up the romance as well as the more solid truth of the ocean which is destined sooner or later to become the balancing centre of the

world's civilisation and progress. Much had already been done in this direction up to the breaking out of war in 1914. But the new Pacific, with German possessions mostly in British hands, is now waiting a word of enlightenment and warning. It is the old Pacific, because no one can understand it properly unless he has studied the past, from Dampier's and Cook's achievements down to the capture of German Samoa and New Guinea. Whatever is done in the future must take account of the past, and much history is stored between the covers of multitudinous books and in original documents waiting to be consulted.

But in our immediate necessity nothing is so good as the second method of reaching an understanding of the Pacific. Sir William MacGregor is alive, and if he were to become vocal—willing to pour out his knowledge and experience for the benefit of the nations—there would not be much left to explain. One or two men still living may know the Pacific and its strange history better than he does from actual contact, but no man breathing has been given his variety of experience. His name is a word of power all through that ocean and in Australia, just as it was in 1893 when Robert Louis Stevenson, in one of the Vailima letters, after

declaring that the home authorities neither knew nor cared what was happening in Samoa, breathed his prayer for a MacGregor and his schooner. Sir William was then in New Guinea as first Administrator, and the news of his wonderful personal power and initiative had travelled far and wide. Much fine achievement in Africa and North America must be added to the labours in the Pacific, for the Colonial Office in London has fallen back upon this strong man in emergencies just as it did when New Zealand needed a master and found it in Sir George Grey. But there is nothing in our colonial history quite like the laying of foundations for administration in New Guinea by Sir William MacGregor in 1888—out of nothing. His bricks were made without straw and his hands were handcuffed into the bargain, and yet in fact he was given a freedom which made everything possible. This strong Scotsman reached the Pacific as Medical Officer for Fiji in 1875. He came from the Seychelles and Mauritius, brought or attracted thence by Sir Arthur Gordon—later Lord Stanmore—who understood something of the value of the man with the Deeside burr still upon his tongue. Sir Arthur, as first Governor of Fiji, had also many bricks to make and little enough straw, but he could command help. He

was a Highland chief and aristocrat to his finger-tips, and his adventures among the Fijians, with their chiefs and clan feeling, make very interesting reading. Dr. MacGregor was also a Highlander, a clansman; and though a commoner he was as proud of his pedigree, and as able to trace it far back, as many a duke. Even in his early days he was noted for his mental ability and force of character. On one occasion a distinguished botanist came to the district and asked the lad if he knew anything of the plants thereabout. To his amazement the botany of the place was presented to him in due order and with satisfying completeness; and a joke was played upon the visitor in the evening when he recounted his experience. He was told that all the lads in the district knew their botany like that! When MacGregor went to the Aberdeen University he soon made his way. As head of the students' symposium—"symposifex"—he would sit at the top of the table in the evening, not drinking, but reciting Homer in the original Greek. He is still the Greek scholar, and even in New Guinea would roll out the same hexameters for the benefit of staff and crew on the boat, when the waters were phosphorescent and musical and the tropical nights tempted him. Fellow-students still alive tell stories of his hard

work and success at the University in those far-off days. Being blessed with a fine brain, a splendid constitution, and indomitable perseverance he won his diploma in medicine and surgery in the first flight. It was mostly done upon Scotland's staple dish, and not too much of that. When the final thesis was due for submission, and the class had foregathered with sheaves of the finest foolscap bound with green ribbons, MacGregor appeared with his offering simply prepared upon ordinary paper with not a frill or ribbon upon it. "You are not going to submit that!" was the exclamation which greeted him, emphasis being laid upon the final word with due vigour. "Why not?" he replied. "Is it an exhibition in caligraphy?" The Faculty, at any rate, knew a fine thing when it came before them, and awarded it the gold medal. This was the man who made the great adventure soon after as a student of colonial administration, and whose worth caused Sir Arthur Gordon to attach him to his staff in the first days of Fiji as a Crown Colony.

The shrewdest common sense accompanied Sir William MacGregor's skill as a surgeon and physician, and supplemented his grasp as a scholar and a man of science. It is stated by those who should know, that he has kept a diary in three

European languages to maintain his freshness of touch with them; and certainly his competent knowledge of French made his first appointments in the Mauritius and the Seychelles much easier than they otherwise would have been. But his work as administrator, explorer, surveyor, botanist, and ethnologist has always found its crown in his knowledge of men. As Administrator in Fiji in the time between changes of Governors, he once read the chiefs in that group an interesting lesson. He was mightily concerned about the health of the natives and had to preach sanitation to those who were in closest touch with them. Measles had run through the group with awful effect, so that almost with the hoisting of the Union Jack one-third of the population had died, with an effect comparable to the Plague of London, as the Rev. Lorimer Fison in his letters remarks. This meant for one thing fighting damp and disease by an attack upon caste conditions. Native houses must be raised at least 12 inches from the ground, but that in itself would be an insult to the chiefs unless some compromise could be reached. So Dr. MacGregor suggested that the chiefs' houses should be raised 18 inches, and thus preserve the balance of respect and assure due recognition of authority. To the assembled chiefs, therefore,

he said among other weighty things: "Respect to chiefs and authority is a good thing, and must be maintained in the land, or much evil will arise; but raising the foundations of the houses of the common people would increase their respect for the chiefs." It was in Fiji that Sir William graduated as an administrator, and in New Guinea that he showed his sterner mettle. Sir Arthur Gordon was in some respects a good teacher, and Sir William on one occasion paid him a great tribute. It was in a paper on New Guinea, read before the Royal Colonial Institute in 1898, and deserves more than passing mention. But space fails, and it remains to be said that the first Governor of that group must certainly have meant well and undoubtedly had many difficult problems to solve; but he was hampered by his prepossessions. His real sympathies were with the chiefs, who became, in fact, officials in the new scheme of administration. The problem of dealing with the group could hardly have been solved otherwise, because the chiefs were men in authority, and the natives by the tribal system were under their supreme control. Yet it was a system full of abominable abuse, as is seen in the facts leading up to annexation; and Sir Arthur Gordon, while earnest to see that the natives received justice, did not quite realise that his

aristocratic sympathies with arrogant chiefs might make the burdens of the former so much heavier. Lorimer Fison, who was correspondent of the *Sydney Morning Herald* in the important opening years of administration in Fiji, throws some interesting light upon the situation in his private letters and published articles. He notes, for instance, that Sir William Des Vœux, as Governor in succession to Sir Arthur Gordon, had to depose and turn out Ratu Timothy, a son of King Thakombau, because of his exactions and follies; and it was apparent that the new civil service could become identified with cruel oppression unless carefully watched. Under the old system the chiefs could oppress, but always at the risk of anarchy and revolution. Under the new they were given power still, but the natives could not rebel against British rule except as they were prepared to be broken or dispersed by forces always stronger than their own. Hence arose friction between the missionaries, whose predecessors, and they themselves, had saved Fiji for the Empire, and also aided the administration under different Governors. As Lorimer Fison has explained, he and his colleagues knew the natives and understood their difficulties and disabilities under arrogant and selfish chiefs; and often the Governor would throw his weight the

wrong way. Hence also was found material for attacks upon missions in books like the one previously mentioned, *South Sea Bubbles*, which contains a most cruel and unjust attack upon their work. How thoroughly the Dr. MacGregor of those days appraised the value of missionary enterprise is to be seen in the way he encouraged it in New Guinea. But that is on record.

Right through the opening years of the new Crown Colony of Fiji, Dr. MacGregor was an important though never an obtrusive figure. He does not appear prominently even in Miss Gordon-Cumming's book *At Home in Fiji*, where, however, he is always the good doctor, always about his business, but never in the limelight. He seems to have been largely occupied with opening people's eyes when not healing their bodies. Sir Arthur Gordon, for instance, had a great wish to extend his influence by observing native customs and ceremonies; and Lorimer Fison has a funny story of one of the Government House staff, who, when staying at the Mission house, walked the verandah before the astonished natives arrayed in shirt and sulu—a strip of white cloth—round the loins. The missionary was mightily indignant and could hardly refrain from vigorous protest, since his wife and daughters were in the house. But the Governor could see a good deal in the

kava-drinking ceremonies of the Fijians, and would cause the yanqona-root to be prepared and brewed in due course and partaken. It was chewed by the natives, and the statement had often been made that the chewed root was better than the grated, and that the saliva could not flow during the process of chewing. But Dr. MacGregor, "curious to discover a cause for so strange a fact, took the trouble to weigh six ounces of the root, which he gave to be chewed in the usual manner. When deposited in the bowl he weighed it again, and found it had increased to seventeen ounces!" Comment is unnecessary. "After this discovery," adds Miss Gordon-Cumming, "kava-drinking fell greatly out of favour with the gentlemen of the Government House party, and was principally reserved for ceremonial occasions."[1] Sir Arthur Gordon knew his medical officer's value. As the years passed Dr. MacGregor became Receiver-General also, and issued the first report upon the trade and commerce of the group. He watched the development of the various enterprises, understood the native problem, realised the difficulties of land tenure intensified by the white man's claims, and grasped the complications of an administration carried on under continual stress and

[1] *At Home in Fiji*, vol. i. p. 88, footnote.

strain. All the time, too, he was watching the development of the larger problems of the Pacific. He happened to be in Berlin when Sir Thomas McIlwraith annexed New Guinea without authority; and he was able to say with decision and accuracy what would be the result. His views so impressed a Berlin journalist that the latter went away and wrote an article which later on read like prophecy.

But the MacGregor who came to light in New Guinea itself as first Administrator in 1888 was something unexpected. The man with the rifle was not altogether a revelation, because Dr. MacGregor had shown what he could do with that weapon in Fiji during an attack upon mountain tribes against whom the Governor had sent an expedition. He had there picked off a boastful savage at long range and given his fellows something to think about. But even white men had not heard of this in New Guinea; and to those who thought of Governors and Administrators as High Mightinesses for whom others shoot, if need be, and at whose bidding doors are open and shut, the subsequent events were sufficiently startling. To the natives they came like lightning from heaven, and impressed them tremendously. Dr. MacGregor was very awkwardly placed. He had been put ashore, and

after due ceremony in declaring the sovereignty of the Queen, had been left to shift for himself. He was told that Admiralty orders forbade the landing of bluejackets or marines in the Possession for police duty of any kind whatsoever; "but," said Admiral Bosanquet, "if I see any of you fellows on shore getting the worst of it, the Admiralty orders won't stand long between you and me." It is little wonder that Sir William MacGregor, later on, expressed his gratitude for the remark, or that he should have described himself as a man thrown into deep water with his hands tied behind his back. But the indomitable Scotsman did not sink, and he soon got his hands free. When he was attacked by overwhelming numbers he would use his rifle upon the chiefs—never without effect, for he was a fine shot. He would pick off the leading men, justifying his action by the reminder that it was better for a few to die rather than that many should be slain. This was done on one occasion when a fleet of canoes full of hostile natives came upon him, and he coolly shot the chief in each canoe until the fleet was disorganised and disappeared. He followed the same tactics when British New Guinea was invaded by a band of head-hunters from over the Dutch boundary. As his reports show, he was always extremely

careful not to give Holland umbrage or excuse. Many raids into British territory were made which he overlooked or dealt with diplomatically; but in this particular instance the offence was glaring and threatened serious consequences. The band of head-hunters was led by a great brawny chief, and had spread fire and death on its way. It was in the early days of administration, when there had been little time to organise defence or train native constables; and Sir William went forth with a scratch force to meet this invasion. As soon as the enemy was sighted, the boasting savage at their head flung forth his taunts and dared the Administrator to come on; so he was shot, and the band immediately dispersed. The shot was fired at a distance of 500 yards, and it did not need a second. All natives on both sides of the boundary received a lesson which they never forgot, and order was gradually brought out of chaos.

Sir William MacGregor possesses the faculty of getting unexpected results from all sorts and conditions of men. He would make magistrates out of the least likely material, and even turn so-called native murderers into capable village constables. Under the conditions of native life in New Guinea the constable became the chief, or so far the equivalent that "Government" as

embodied in his august person could command obedience under all difficulties. On one occasion it was necessary to issue a subpœna to a native who was required as a witness in some case; but he was not allowed to come into court on his own initiative. The constables who served the subpœna brought him in trussed like a pig and hanging from a pole carried upon their shoulders. They could see no incongruity in the process of service, and the witness did not sue for damages, as far as present information goes. But in these dealings with difficult and often intractable material Sir William not only expected everybody to work, but to take risks which under ordinary circumstances would seem foolish and perhaps suicidal. He had no sense of fear himself. When at Woodlark Island a native had to be arrested for murder, and a crowd of howling friends or sympathisers made the business look exceedingly dangerous, the Administrator without a word brought the man to the ground and handcuffed him. It was done with the celerity and success of an athlete and the assurance of a well-trained policeman. When, again, in an exploring trip Sir William MacGregor and some of his staff were drifting down one of the rivers on a raft, the swift current and many snags threatened disaster. On being reminded that to

be wrecked might mean drowning, he replied laconically, "I cannot swim." His assurance seemed to be like that of Caesar, who reminded his boatman in a storm that he had nothing to fear.

The present Lieutenant-Governor, Judge Murray, in his book on New Guinea, has given a very interesting account of achievements up to date, but no account can put Sir William in his proper place. In his first year in New Guinea he laid down the lines which administration and development should follow, and his extraordinary energy took him round the whole coast line and far inland. He even climbed Mount Owen Stanley, 13,000 feet high, in his adventurous beginnings as an explorer—the first white man to attempt it; and he began the work of organising the various districts under his control so that there should be no break in his assertion of authority. He was undoubtedly fortunate in having practically a free hand, while working within limits which were defined by the British Government on the one side and the principal Australian Colonies on the other. The latter had consented to pay part of the cost of administration in the Pacific; and Queensland especially had to be consulted and kept informed about the progress of the Possession.

While Sir William MacGregor was undoubtedly landed in fetters to attempt the impossible, he was really given the opportunity and the work most suited to his genius; and as a consequence his name to-day, in Australia and through the wide ocean around, is written up in large letters so that he who runs may read. He had regretted on one occasion that New Guinea was not connected by wire with the mainland of Australia, and had hopes that the Pacific cable might be diverted that way. But he was reminded that he was fortunate to be out of reach of interference, as official solicitude or stiff-neckedness might have effectually limited his usefulness. Admiral Bosanquet in 1898 summed up Sir William MacGregor's achievements, comparing things as he left the Possession with what existed before, in a sentence or two. He said: "In the days which I remember, murder, rapine, and cruel superstition were the ordinary daily habit everywhere; the country was unmapped, no roads existed, the rivers were mostly unexplored, many harbours were unsurveyed, and rocks uncharted. The punishment of crime was fitful and irregular. I hold that Sir William MacGregor's greatest achievement, and the firm basis of his successful government, was the organisation of the present

admirable police out of very unpromising material, together with the strict enforcement of the laws against the importation of spirits and firearms."[1] The Admiral also praised the splendid maps and marine surveys attached to the Lieutenant-Governor's last report, and paid a great tribute to his personal influence and energetic administration. But the work was done with limited funds and a mere handful of men. It stands as a monument of what is possible when a great leader of magnetic spirit and fine temper and character is allowed to show exactly what he can do. His policy was undoubtedly one of care for the natives first, and therein he made enemies, though he gave due regard to the white man's burden and the white man's rights. So much of the disappointment, cruelty, and friction, arising from the conflict of interests, has come because native customs and tribal rights have been ignored or defied; and Sir William, as a student of, and participator in, the settlement of Fiji, realised better than anybody else what had to be done. His critics have challenged him as a lover of the native to the exclusion of the white man; and in Papua to-day the complaint is continued. The native is declared to be pampered at the expense of white enterprise and to its increasing

[1] *Royal Col. Institute Proceedings*, vol. xxx. p. 262.

injury and loss. Yet it has already been shown that a great deal of the trouble lies in the fact that Australia, as responsible for the development and control of British New Guinea, refuses to allow the white planter's produce in on an equal footing with that grown in the Commonwealth. The same complaint comes from the Solomons and from the New Hebrides; and if Fiji should be included eventually in the circle of control the protest will grow stronger, for Fijian bananas are much hampered by Australian Customs duties. Sir William MacGregor, no doubt, refused to allow New Guinea to be exploited, either by the Australian planter who wanted labour or by the New Guinea planter who desired to open up the Possession; but he had the keenest sympathy with any proposals which made it possible for the natives to work with or for the white man under conditions profitable to both in the Possession itself. Fiji, therefore, taught Sir William MacGregor a great deal; but the name which comes up in connection with the Pacific as that of the scientific exponent of native needs and traditions is not his own or Sir Arthur Gordon's, but Lorimer Fison's. Fison's work in Fiji struck a note which has influenced the whole of British administration in the Pacific since he left in

1884, and it profoundly impressed Sir Arthur Gordon himself in the discussion of the important question of native land tenure. As this is in turn at the bottom of the great and growing difficulty connected with native labour, a separate chapter must be devoted to it; but, meanwhile, Sir William MacGregor has done more than any man to show how the problems of land tenure and native labour may be solved.

CHAPTER X

FOUNDATIONS OF BRITISH SUCCESS

Royal instructions to favour missionaries — Their share in MacGregor's success—George Brown's transformation of Dobu —Exorcism of fear—The importance of Tamate—German colonies only military outposts—Bigelow—The business man's claim—Man, chattel, or child?—The honour of vaccination!

WHEN Sir William MacGregor went to New Guinea in 1888 as its first Administrator, and on the 4th of September made the proclamation at Port Moresby which finally annexed it to the British Empire, he carried with him certain royal instructions. Amongst these was a clause which ran: "The Administrator is to the utmost of his power to promote religion and education among the native inhabitants of the Possession; and he is especially to take care to protect them in their persons, and in the free enjoyment of their land and other possessions, and by all lawful means to prevent and restrain all violence and injustice which may in any manner be practised or attempted against

them; and he is to adopt and support such measures as may appear to him conducive to their civilisation, and as tend to the suppression of barbarous customs among the natives." This is very fine, and appeals to the imagination and emotions. Dr. Lawes remarked of it, when addressing the Congregational Union of Australasia in Sydney in 1907: "It is often said that the British race is the greatest colonizer in the world. Now mark, this greatest colonizing nation with its accumulated wisdom of generations—wisdom acquired by experience in dealing with native races all over the world—thus instructed the first Governor of Papua. . . . No 'prentice hands penned those words, no amateur statesman dictated those sentences, but they emanated from the Government that has had long experience in governing and managing barbarous races all the world over."[1] Nevertheless, when it is remembered that the first Governor had been landed without any of the accessories of power, except his own force of character and the flag which had been hauled up with the proclamation as token of possession, there might seem to be a fine satire in the whole business. It has already been noted that Sir William MacGregor described himself as a man flung into deep water

[1] *W. G. Lawes of Savage Island and New Guinea*, pp. 349, 350.

with his hands tied behind his back; and the mother country from the deck of her warship had told him, in effect, as he struggled to get free, to be kind to the hungry sea about him. Taken by itself the situation seems absurd, and Sir William's success in the following years becomes marvellous indeed. But he himself would be the first to point out that, crippled as he was, the foundations of success had already been laid by other men. The British flag had been hoisted three times from a missionary flag-pole between April 4, 1883, and November 4, 1884. Sir Thomas McIlwraith was responsible for the first hoisting, because the *Allgemeine Zeitung* had published an article about New Guinea which showed what Germany was thinking, and also because the German corvette *Carola* was reported to have left Sydney bent on annexation. The second and third hoistings were accomplished, one by order of Mr. Romilly and the other by Commodore Erskine, towards the end of 1884, and covered the same purpose —the proclamation of a Protectorate.

It is all summarised by the Rev. Joseph King in his Life of Dr. Lawes just quoted. But the point is that without the work of missionaries in New Guinea Sir William MacGregor would have failed of half his victories. On the final

hoisting he heard the National Anthem sung in a most appropriate setting, because it represented not only the proper touch in an important ceremony but was the crown of a decade and a half of successful enterprise. In a letter from Dr. Lawes to the Foreign Secretary of the London Missionary Society, written describing the whole function, is the following: "The Letters Patent containing the New Administrator's instructions were read, the oaths of allegiance and office were administered, the royal standard was hoisted, the *feu de joie* fired by a company of marines from H.M.S. *Opal*, and the white subjects gave three cheers for the Queen. Then, to the great surprise and evident pleasure of Dr. MacGregor, a little group of well-dressed New Guineans, standing like loyal guardians at the base of the flagstaff, sang with great heartiness, if not in very good tune, one verse of the English National Anthem. This was the Mission students' contribution to the function, by which they, and the native races of Papua to which they belonged, were brought under the permanent rule of the Empire."[1]

Now, the first Administrator was not given to emotion over native forwardness, nor, being a cool-brained medical man, was he inclined to

[1] *W. G. Lawes of Savage Island and New Guinea*, p. 258.

exaggerate when giving his impressions. Moreover, he had gone to New Guinea after thirteen years' experience in the Pacific, where he had stored much knowledge in his scrutiny of native life and conditions. It was no neophyte who was impressed by what he saw and heard either at Port Moresby in 1888 or at Dobu in 1897. The latter experience may be given here, because it shows how vast was the field for both administrator and missionary. In 1890 Dr. George Brown was about to visit the Dobu natives, for the first time in mission history. One of the last remarks made to him by Sir William MacGregor was: "Now, Brown, take care of yourself at Dobu, or they will knock you on the head. They are about the worst natives I know in New Guinea." That was saying a good deal, as Dr. Brown well knew, for savagery in the new British Possession was, and still is, full of startling variety. Six years after, in 1897, the missionary was visiting New Guinea in his official capacity as General Secretary of Methodist Missions—it was really his third visit,—and at Dobu he received Sir William MacGregor, who landed to see what progress had been made. Dr. Brown says that as the Governor stepped ashore sixty native students, and the native girls under the care of the Sisters, were drawn up all neatly

dressed in lava lavas and cotton frocks, and sang the National Anthem in English. "His Excellency took off his hat, and stood both amazed and pleased at such a reception"—this is the comment in the autobiography upon the experience.[1] The fact is, though it does not appear in the book just quoted, that the Governor exclaimed, "Man, it is wonderful!" The examination proceeded, and Dr. Brown recalls a remark made by Sir William MacGregor during their conversation that day, when the latter asked for an explanation of the great change to be noticed in the people since 1890. Dr. Brown mentioned certain things, but the Governor said: "No, that is not it at all. Don't you see the people have quite a different expression on their faces now? The change is not a matter of dress or even of manner, but an entirely different appearance and expression." Then Dr. Brown admitted that he and the missionaries in charge had often talked about it. "As the people are brought under the influence of Christian teaching," he says in the autobiography, "there is not only a softening of their facial expression, but also the signs of intelligent interest, which were certainly absent before."[2]

[1] *George Brown, D.D., Pioneer Missionary and Explorer*, pp. 501, 502.
[2] *Ibid.*

Chalmers had probably got to the heart of the matter many years earlier when he noted that one effect of mission work among the natives was to deliver them from fear. He said in 1878: "The state of fear of one another in which the savage lives is truly pitiful; to him every stranger seeks his life, and so does every other savage. The falling of a dry leaf at night, the tread of a pig, or the passage of a bird, all arouse him, and he trembles with fear."[1] A man who never sleeps well, and whose superstitions as well as his actual dangers beset him behind and before, must look different when he can feel confidence in his surroundings and trust the hand held out to him. Surely he will carry a more cheerful expression when the world becomes a place of comparative safety instead of the Hades full of terrifying experiences so familiar to the New Guinea native. Such has been the result of missionary enterprise; and Hades has given place to something nearer Heaven. It is true of all the islands of the Pacific, more or less, but in New Guinea the conditions were often exceptionally difficult. The people live in villages, which for long were at war with one another, and were always in a state of mutual friction and suspicion. In many

[1] *James Chalmers of New Guinea*, p. 83.

Photo, D. H[illegible]

JAMES CHALMERS.

cases access in or out was barred. Sometimes the coast was cut off, and in other cases the interior. No powerful chiefs had arisen, as in Tonga, Fiji, and Samoa, to exercise control and make whole districts one. Into this chaos went the London Missionary Society in 1871, and Dr. Lawes appeared upon the scene three years after. Later came Chalmers; and so Macfarlane, Lawes, and Chalmers must be associated in a work which made a British Protectorate possible in 1884, and sovereignty not a farce in 1888. But Chalmers was the man who, since 1869, had not ceased to urge upon the directors of his Society the claims of New Guinea; and it was largely upon his representations that a start was ultimately made there. He did not enter upon the field so thoroughly associated with his name until 1877, for Raratonga still needed him; but when he reached New Guinea there was never any cessation in his activities.

It was Chalmers, then, who did so much to make Sir William MacGregor's tremendous task less difficult. His nine years' work in various districts and along the coast had begun to prepare the way for the Administrator. The story of this pioneering, as told by himself, is full of marvel and surprise; and nothing could be more impressive than his exploring expeditions

undertaken for the purpose of getting into direct relations with the natives. As brother Scots Chalmers and MacGregor found much in common; but the Administrator and the Missionary became right and left hands to the Empire in the Pacific, in the momentous years between the annexation of Fiji in 1874 and the final departure of New Guinea's first Governor in 1898. How valuable Chalmers's work had become, when New Guinea was proclaimed a Protectorate in 1884, may be seen from the attitude of Sir Peter Scratchley, the Special Commissioner appointed by the British Government to report upon the latest addition to the Empire's burden. He would not proceed without Tamate—Chalmers's name among the natives—the man so trusted by them, but who at last was murdered by their fellows, as Captain Cook, John Williams, Bishop Patteson, and many another hero have been done to death in the South Seas at the hands of blood-thirsty savages. Dr. Doyle Glanville, who was a member of Sir Peter Scratchley's staff, joins in the chorus of evidence as to Chalmers's influence. Mr. Seymour Fort, the Commissioner's private secretary, had contributed an article to the *Empire Review*, in which various incidents were recounted of Chalmers's personal courage and wonderful power

with the natives. Dr. Doyle Glanville endorsed it all and declared to the members of the Royal Colonial Institute that Tamate's "profound knowledge of the native character, his wide experience, and his great tact placed us on a footing with the natives that otherwise would have been impossible." This is given in Chalmers's Life by Cuthbert Lennox, in which is quoted the remark of Sir Peter Scratchley's biographer that "missionary labour had not only opened up communication with the natives along nearly the whole coast-line of the protected territory and far into the interior, but, what is more important, had inspired them with confidence in the white man."[1] The significant conclusion is reached by the same writer that, had not this been the case, only bands of armed men could have ventured into the interior, for had the natives become hostile or suspicious, the Special Commissioner's efforts would either have ended in failure or would have produced comparatively little fruit. Tamate was the wizard who laid the evil spirits, and prepared the way in village after village for the feet of Queen Victoria's messengers. Sir William MacGregor in his reports bears constant testimony to the help he himself received in this way; and it is

[1] *James Chalmers of New Guinea*, p. 138.

not too much to say that Chalmers provided the key to unlock the handcuffs on the wrists of New Guinea's first Governor.

Strange it was that as Sir William MacGregor entered Fiji in 1875, Chalmers was getting ready to leave Raratonga in order to make New Guinea a prize for the Empire and to help in giving MacGregor the place he now holds as one of the greatest administrators in modern British colonising history. It was Chalmers who roused Robert Louis Stevenson to exclaim, "But oh, Tamate, if I had met you when I was a boy and a bachelor, how different my life would have been"; and it was Stevenson who later wrote to his friend, Dr. H. Bellyse Baildon: "I shall look forward to some record of your time with Chalmers; you can't weary me of that fellow; he is as big as a house and far bigger than any church where no man warms his hands."[1] Chalmers, Brown, and MacGregor are mentioned in the novelist's letters; and with Fison brought in to complete the quartet they are related in time by their advent in special fields of service. Fison, on his second term of service, and MacGregor arrived in Fiji almost together, in or about 1875; and in that year Brown went from Samoa to New Britain. It was as if they had been

[1] *James Chalmers of New Guinea*, p. 167.

chosen for the work of preparation against the great War now upon us, for while Chalmers was holding an outpost in New Guinea, and Brown was fighting for Christianity and the flag in the Bismarck Archipelago, MacGregor and Fison were occupying Fiji to some purpose. These men have done more to influence the current of events in the Pacific within the last forty years than any other four that could be named, not excepting Sir Henry Parkes himself from a rival quartet. Other great men have made their mark in Australia, but their influence has not gone much further than the continent. These have practically laid hands on a whole ocean, and mightily impressed Australia into the bargain; and when the lives of MacGregor, Brown, and Fison come to be written there will be some wonderful revelations of power in achievements which at present can only be suggested.

What remains to be said of them just here is that they have helped to lay down a programme with regard to the natives of the Pacific which is being continually assailed, but which can only be upset at the expense of honour and fair dealing—of everything that makes the Empire worth while. In all the groups now flying the British flag, the native is learning to trust the white man's government, if he has not already

got the lesson by heart. There are still large areas in which pure savagery exists and where the native is ready to kill the white man at sight. But these breadths of bestiality are shrinking fast, and soon the flag will everywhere be to the brown man the emblem of power and justice. How different the conditions are in German possessions may be gathered from conversation with men who know them intimately and whose word may be trusted. Natives in the German Solomons have always been anxious to cross the Bougainville Straits to British territory; even before the War they had to be restrained by German regulations. These were so strict that little or no communication was possible; moreover, they were as much a breach of the original treaty between Germany and Great Britain with respect to the Solomon Islands as the subsequent outrage upon Australian trade in the Marshall Islands. It is true that the control of native labour in German possessions has been more fair to the natives themselves in recent years, but there has never been the kindly care for their interests which under able and efficient administrators has marked British rule throughout. How this has impressed dispassionate outsiders may be seen in a book just published by Mr. Poultney Bigelow, entitled *Prussian Memories*. Mr. Bigelow's

record as an American public man needs no advertisement here; and he is so well known outside the United States that his circle of readers in English-speaking countries is necessarily large. This may be accepted as a guarantee of good faith. But Mr. Bigelow knows Germany intimately and has been a personal friend of the Kaiser. Yet in many directions his criticisms are as searching and uncompromising as if he were fighting for the Allies instead of being a citizen of a great neutral country. In the matter of German colonisation he is trenchant, and gives chapter and verse from his personal visit to German New Guinea in 1906. While he admits that changes may have occurred since, he urges that "until the spirit of Prussianism changes in Berlin it is hard to think of a German Colony save as a military outpost." At Blanche Bay he travelled for ten miles inland to the Governor's official residence upon a road of modern German construction, "broad and well engineered, and not a single house or human the whole distance. . . . There were, however, humans, and I noted with regret that they not only left the roads as I approached but disappeared wholly in the jungle as though suspecting evil design on the part of every white man."[1]

[1] *Prussian Memories*, p. 113.

He describes among other things the way of the Prussian missionary, who is reinforced by the German Governor and by German bullets. "The picture of conscientious truant officers armed with guns and scouring the jungles of New Guinea for bushy-headed cinnamon-coloured boys and girls who have taken to the tall trees rather than submit to civilisation on the Prussian plan, forms a comic cartoon, were it not so frequently tragic in its consequences. To the Germans all natives are natives, and in flogging those whom the police have brought back to the fold it sometimes happens that a man of great local importance is outraged, and revenge follows and a missionary is hurt." Mr. Bigelow has much beside to say about German methods in New Guinea and elsewhere, but his summing up leaves no doubt as to his opinions; German colonies swarm with German officials, but the native is not considered to be a fellow-creature as in British colonies; and here lies a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence in the convictions of some earnest business men and planters of British stock. They insist that the native must be kept in his place. The present system, they declare, is a foolish one, because all through the Pacific trouble is arising from lack of labour, or from native labour so guarded that

the white man can hardly make any profit out of it. And his side of the question must be given due consideration. The natives in Fiji, for instance, hold vast areas of land under tribal tenure and are practically independent; and there can be no doubt what the effect upon native labour in relation to white demands has been.

So the round of argument is completed; and to-day in Fiji another question has arisen. How far may natives, holding lands which will be immensely benefited by new roads and by the building of railways, be made to contribute to their cost? If they are to be taxed shall they also have representation in a Parliament as in New Zealand? The labour difficulty does not arise quite in the same form in the Solomons, but it exists in those islands of the group where coco-nuts are plentiful. Native rights in land and trees are recognised everywhere; and the Solomon islander who has nuts in possession has a bank account upon which he draws. He does not need to work. How is he to be made to work? Why should he be disciplined? It is clear that the German system cannot be accepted or countenanced. Is there a middle way between the extremes of treating the native as a man or a chattel? Well, it is

argued, he is a child and should be treated as a child. He should be made to work if he is lazy. Discipline must be enforced. And so on. Against all this the missionary sets his veto; and administrators like Sir William MacGregor insist, with the missionary, that there must be room for something higher than the discipline of childhood, to enforce labour that may become like slavery in proportion as it is hateful or uncongenial. Given the stimulus which leaders like MacGregor, Chalmers, Stevenson, Brown, and Fison have supplied, and the natives will not only work but die for the white man. Moreover, they will learn the lessons set in a white man's school, buy the white man's books, and then go away in exile to far-off islands and preach the white man's gospel, which has become in very truth their own. Those who would discipline the natives are sincere, and they have grievances; but the problem of finding labour for growing plantations will hardly be solved by German methods.

How wide and deep the responsibility for native life and well-being will become may be seen in New Guinea, now that the white man has put his hand to the plough. It is all very well to say that the native is a child and must be treated as a child; but when smallpox threatens

to run through the tribes, what can be done with thousands of men and women who know nothing of discipline and care little about authority? To tell them that they must be vaccinated, for instance, would do if they could be taken in hand like children and submitted to the doctor's lancet. This terrible scourge had to be met in New Guinea with vaccination; and had there not been resourcefulness and readiness in the present Lieutenant-Governor, as well as a keen sense of humour, the trouble would have spread before anything effective could be done. So the vaccination marks were made honourable. Vaccination became a thing to be desired, because it seemed, in the scratches upon the arm and in the appearance of ceremonial with inoculation, as if the Government in very deed was placing its august badge upon the native; and he spread the doctrine of discipline because he bore the coveted distinction himself. New Guinea natives understand something of the magic of marks, or think they do, and there was magic in this method of placing brands upon men and women for purposes known only to the great folk at the head of affairs. So does the work of science express itself through native credulity, and only so can much of the best effort of administration

bear fruit in the immediate present. As the years pass, education will clear the way for enlightened faith, and natives and white folk will then talk in the larger language.

CHAPTER XI

LAND TENURES IN THE PACIFIC

Our reluctance to annex—Land tenure—Treaty of Waitangi—Fison's value in Fiji—His authority on land question—His policy followed by Government—The Deed of Cession—Communal tenure—Lapse of Clause 4—Missionaries avoid land traffic—Fison's personal history—Thakombau's mistake.

To understand something of the problems of the Pacific in these days of upheaval, it is essential to keep in mind the principles which have been adopted by successive British Governments, when forced to annex various islands or groups of islands from time to time. Mr. Poultney Bigelow, whose *Prussian Memories* has just been quoted, notes that "the history of British colonisation for the past hundred years at least is that of a Government reluctantly giving its protection to adventurous colonists, who have already established a civil government and ask only that their rights and their property shall be respected." This may be broadly true of Australia, to all intents and purposes an empty

continent when brought under the flag, but it hardly applies to the islands of the Pacific except as the position of the native population is ignored or forgotten. Both Britain and Germany were driven into empire abroad by adventurous colonists and traders; and neither Lord Derby nor Prince Bismarck in 1884, on looking back, could feel that he had led the way by colonial enterprise in extending the boundaries of his nation's possessions. But when action had to be taken the two Governments, as represented by these men, parted company. Great Britain insisted upon recognising and preserving native rights, and in so doing found herself opposed by the men whose enterprise had forced her hand. Germany, however, always accepted what her traders had accomplished, and went further than they had done in the paths of unscrupulousness and treachery. That this may be seen in matters of land tenure and in the claims of white men upon native land is beyond dispute; and a great deal of the present difficulty with native labour has arisen because tribal tenure in the first instance was recognised and enforced by Great Britain. The question of land tenure, therefore, becomes vital in any consideration of the problem of finding labour, native or other, for the white man's plantations.

When the Maori chiefs of New Zealand signed the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 they understood, first, that they had ceded to the Queen of England, "absolutely and without reservation," all the rights and powers of sovereignty which they exercised or possessed; second, that they were confirmed in and were guaranteed "the full, exclusive, and undisturbed possession of their lands and estates, forests, fisheries, and other properties," admitting, however, Her Majesty's exclusive right of pre-emption over lands which the Maories cared to alienate; and third, that the Queen of England extended to the natives of New Zealand her Royal protection, "and imparted to them all the rights and privileges of British subjects." A literal translation into English from the original Maori endorses this summary of the principal points of the Treaty; and both the English document and the Maori translation of it retranslated, may be read in Mr. T. Lindsay Buick's *The Treaty of Waitangi; or, How New Zealand became a British Colony*, a book recently published and specially worth reading. The Maori war arose because white settlers and speculators assumed that British sovereignty gave them the power to accept native transfers of land at face value, and because the New

Zealand Company in particular tried to enforce claims which were disputed by the Maories themselves. It has already been explained how Sir George Grey brought order out of the chaos created by this peculiar reading or defiance of the provisions of the Treaty of Waitangi. All that needs to be urged now is a clear understanding of Great Britain's attitude to the Maories in 1840 and of the principles which have governed white settlement in New Zealand ever since. There has been much controversy over the whole business, much bitter abuse of Governors and Governments, and a great deal of misunderstanding by both sides to a continuing quarrel. But the undoubted fact is that when the mother country was forced to take possession of New Zealand, her first and last thought was to treat the Maori as the white man would expect to be treated himself. If that is not one of the essential lessons of Christianity, there is no other.

Now in Fiji, thirty-five years after, the same controversy arose; and its settlement, intimately connected with the name of Lorimer Fison, began with the lecture on land tenure in the Group, delivered at Levuka in 1880, when the Lands Commission was about to sit. Land Commissions have been quite a feature in the

course of British rule in the Pacific, but this one is notable as dealing with German claims in a fashion which thoroughly disgusted the claimants. It may be explained that Fison had gone to Fiji in 1863 as a missionary, leaving in 1871. He returned in 1875 after the cession to and annexation by Great Britain, and left again in 1883. In the two terms of residence he established a reputation which places him among the men who laid deep the foundations of British rule, and who by their enterprise and learning influenced the minds of leaders of thought and of statesmen in English-speaking lands. His value as missionary and man of science has yet to be properly appraised and his biography remains to be written. Those who knew him realised his power, and a close friend like Dr. George Brown finds it difficult to speak of him except in glowing words and pregnant phrases. Brown and MacGregor alone are alive out of the band of men who exerted so much influence in the Pacific from 1875 onward as missionaries or administrators; but Fison is brought in here because, though dead more than a decade, he still lives in his writings, in the questions he raised, and in the friends he made. One finds his name as an authority in book after book of standard interest, from Dr. Codrington's *The*

Melanesians, published in 1891, to Sir James Frazer's *The Belief in Immortality*, which appeared about three years ago. Lord Avebury, just before he died, wrote a book, *Marriage, Totemism, and Religion: An Answer to Critics*, which appeared in 1911; and in it the name of Fison is prominent. The Pacific and its islands indeed cannot be adequately discussed without him. The lack of printed records, apart from his scientific contributions, makes it imperative that he should be given his due place, to enable a true understanding of the New Pacific to be reached, and what is here stated is taken largely from his own letters or journals or from the books annotated by him. For instance, in Dr. Brown's library is a copy of the pamphlet containing Fison's lecture on "Land Tenure in Fiji," corrected and brought up to date by Fison himself, and in his own script. It lies beside the present author at the moment of this writing.

Dr. Codrington in the preface to his book above mentioned says: "I have felt the truth of what Mr. Fison, late missionary in Fiji, to whom I am indebted for much instruction, has written: 'When a European has been living for two or three years among savages, he is sure to be fully convinced that he knows all about them; when he has been ten years or so amongst them, if he

Photo, Grouzelle, Melbourne.

THE REV. L. FISON, D.D.

be an observant man, he finds that he knows very little about them, and so begins to learn.'" This, perhaps, sums up in a couple of sentences the difficulty under which all new countries labour; and it dismisses books of the *South Sea Bubbles* class with significant emphasis. New countries are made known to outsiders through the writings of travellers or short-time residents; and the latter are valuable as impressions, and must be reckoned with. They show what is to be seen from certain points of view, but the vital questions are necessarily too often ignored or treated superficially. For at least sixteen years Lorimer Fison was a close student of the Pacific from his Fijian Mission Stations; and for another twenty years he was a keen observer, from his home in Australia, of the whole trend of ethnological and political developments. In that time he got to know the natives in the Islands and on the mainland thoroughly, as well as to understand their customs and traditions. Out of a wide knowledge, therefore, he discussed the system of Fijian land tenure and started the policy which is affecting, or has already affected, British administration everywhere in the Pacific. This includes British New Guinea, now under Australian control, where Sir William MacGregor, ten years after

Lorimer Fison's lecture was delivered at Levuka, laid down lines in dealing with the lands of the Possession which have not since been departed from.

But, first, it should be explained that when Fiji was ceded to Great Britain in 1874, practically the same admissions and concessions were made in the agreement with the Native Chiefs as in New Zealand in 1840. A great controversy has arisen since as to what the Fijian chiefs really understood by the Deed of Cession which they signed, and Sir Everard im Thurn has set forth at length his reasons for assuming that a great mistake has been made in the interpretation of that important document. The chiefs had agreed to the following resolution, which, expanded, appears as the First Clause in the Deed: "We give Fiji unreservedly to the Queen of Great Britain that She may rule us justly and affectionately, and that we may live in peace and prosperity"; and a translation of Clause 4 of the Deed runs: "Concerning (or, this concerns) the lands of Fiji which have been already sold to certain foreigners (or white men) which they will claim to be theirs, and which are found as a result of inquiry to be properly theirs, or which are at present in the possession of certain chiefs, or mataqualis, or people of the

land, and which are being used at the present time, or which will be hereafter apportioned to chiefs, or mataquali, or to the people of the land, so that each individual may have a sufficiency for the present time, and a sufficiency for all future times. The land left over after the said divisions have been made is made over and given to the Queen and her successors to be Hers absolutely as supreme owner." The Fifth Clause allows the Queen to take any lands needed for purposes of government. Now, this is to all intents and purposes the New Zealand arrangement in that it recognises the rights of the natives to all lands in their possession. What was left over was to be the Queen's, and upon that point all subsequent controversy has turned.

Here is where Lorimer Fison's lecture, delivered in 1880 before the Land Commission sat, made so much pother. Sir Everard im Thurn, in his monograph upon Fison in the Supplement to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, says that this deliverance was a paper which first saw the light in 1881; but the date in Fison's own writing upon the published pamphlet shows when the immediate disturbance began. Sir Arthur Gordon was evidently profoundly impressed by Fison's main conclusions; and these indicated

clearly that there could be no land left over for the Crown after the Fijians had been allowed to claim and hold what they considered to be their own. Broadly, the principle laid down by Fison and adopted so widely as true is, that the natives of the various groups hold their lands in common; and that they do not understand alienation in fee simple, except perhaps in Samoa, where the level of civilisation is higher than elsewhere. In Samoa in the past the natives sold, and have continued to sell, land to one another and to foreigners; but elsewhere in the Pacific the communal system has prevailed, so that the alienation of lands has been deemed to be unfair, if not impossible, except as everybody concerned —chiefs and commoners—are consenting parties. Even then it has been urged that the rights of succeeding generations could not be invaded; and, logically, absolute alienation became a breach of the law of the land as embodied in native custom. The breach of native custom, as Germany has consistently practised it, has altered the position in certain groups; and Might, in that respect, has triumphed over Right. This question of land tenure, therefore, is a very important one; and both the British and American Governments were impressed by Fison's lecture. Sir James Frazer in his sketch

of Fison which appeared in *Folk Lore*[1] says that the substance of it was published in *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, and soon after by the British Government in a Blue Book. "It was also translated into German, and published in one of the German official books at the time when the claims of German landowners in Fiji were under consideration. Many years later the Governor of Fiji, then Sir Henry M. Jackson, K.C.M.G., esteemed the treatise so highly that he caused it to be reprinted from Mr. Fison's manuscript in a fuller form at the Government Press; and in a despatch of July 31, 1903, Mr. Chamberlain, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, wrote to the Governor: 'I have read this valuable treatise with much interest. I entirely approve of your action in causing it to be reprinted by the Government Press, and I consider that the Colony owes Dr. Fison a debt of gratitude for his kindness in recopying the original manuscript.'"[2] As far as Germany was concerned, however, the lecture remained a dead document; and German claims upon native lands, rejected in Fiji, were uniformly allowed at all the vital points of German expansion in the Pacific.

One of the results of Sir Arthur Gordon's

[1] Vol. XX., No. 2, June 30, 1909.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 149, 150.

study of the Fison conclusions was that any claims possible to the Crown upon lands not in use by the natives were allowed to lapse. Clause Four of the Deed of Cession might never have been included for all the use it has been, and it is alleged that this has tended to limit and impede the progress of white settlement and enterprise. Such is the contention of those who agree with Sir Everard im Thurn, whose attack upon Sir Arthur Gordon (later Lord Stanmore) for wrongfully interpreting the Clause in question, necessarily includes Lorimer Fison and his lecture. The Correspondence on the subject has been issued as a Blue Book on Fiji, arising from an Address of the House of Lords dated July 16, 1908, and Lord Stanmore in this interesting publication takes up the cudgels on his own behalf. It is impossible to pursue the subject further here, but it may be said briefly by way of summary that, judging by results, Fison's position has not been successfully challenged. He held that the so-called waste lands could be claimed by some native family, and that alienation in fee simple was not fair to the natives nor indeed legal. At one time or another some tribe or family had held the lands, and under native custom could assert and maintain its right to them. Sir Arthur Gordon adopted this view;

and if he was wrong, it is now too late to go back and revive Clause Four of the Deed of Cession. Such has been the effect of a comprehensive statement made by one who as anthropologist and missionary was known as an authority on native customs, and whose character for honesty and integrity was above suspicion.

The latter point is important, because the missionaries before annexation were supposed to have trafficked in land. In a letter to Archbishop Trench, written from Rewa, September 4, 1869, and giving a succinct account of the position in Fiji, both in respect to Missions and to the political outlook, Fison met the charge with a flat denial; and all his correspondence since shows him to have set his face resolutely against the practice of land trafficking by missionaries. He could see danger and discredit in it. He was convinced that from this cause trouble was brewing in Fiji similar to what, under like conditions, had led to war in New Zealand; and if the natives got out of hand, the miserable minority of white people would not have even a fighting chance. This, of course, was before annexation by Great Britain, which did not come till 1874. Dr. Fison wrote to the Archbishop of Dublin in 1869 as follows: "There are many minor causes of the approach-

ing evil, but the great cause is the land buying; for I do not hesitate to say that, so complicated is the tenure of land in Fiji, it is all but impossible to buy a piece of ground anywhere without making an enemy of some native or other. We missionaries are not all of the same opinion hereupon, — indeed there are two of our number who have bought lands for their children,—but the large majority of us, while allowing our brethren the same liberty which we claim for ourselves, namely that of acting according to opinions conscientiously held, yet feel so strongly on the question that we have refused to become landowners, though nothing could be easier than for some of us to have gotten to ourselves large possessions at a very small cost, which we could have sold at high rates to our countrymen who are now crowding into the land. I have been moved to write these words by the fact that accusations of trading and landholding on a large scale have been made against us as a body, and one of my kinsfolk in England informed me that the cry had been taken up by the *Saturday Review* in a bitter article." As to the mere equity of buying and selling in this way there could be no question, Dr. Fison insisted; and missionaries were as much bound as other men to provide for their wives and

children. They were poor, however, and could only scrape and save to pay premiums for life assurance, while labouring otherwise under manifest disadvantages. It was, therefore, a fine thing that for conscience' sake they "refused either to make so much as one single farthing by buying and selling, or to avail themselves of the opportunity of becoming rich by buying lands, even though they thereby denied themselves of their legal rights, for, as far as the legality of land purchases here is concerned, missionaries have surely equal rights with the rest of their countrymen."

Fison went to Fiji when the American Civil War was helping to advertise the group, and sea island cotton was being discussed as a fine product to take the place of the cotton prevented by blockade from leaving the Southern States. He was a man of fine personality, large heart, and high ideals. Born in 1832, he was then still a comparatively young man, and retained the love of adventure which had sent him out of England in the early fifties to try his luck on the sea, and then to land in Australia, drawn by the gold-fields. As a student of Caius College, Cambridge, his high spirits had led to rustication and, as it happened, final disappearance; and in one of his letters,

written in 1894 to Dr. Brown, after his return from England, whither he had gone as a representative of Australian science to the British Association meeting at Oxford, he mentions an incident which shows how his old university always drew him. He travelled to Cambridge, dined with the Fellows at his old College, and went next day to look at the beautiful chapel. "Afterwards," he says, "Dr. Venn, the Senior Fellow, who was an undergrad with me, walked with me to the Gate of Honour, out of which I intended to go, for it was nearest to my cab. When we came up to the gate he said, 'You remember the inscription up there?' 'Certainly, —honoris,' I replied. He hooked his arm with mine, and said, 'Well, come through.' I went through that same gate out of bravado when I was a rusticated undergrad, leaving the college with a sore heart inside, whatever I might have put on outside; and now as an old fellow I was taken through it with honour. It is a very pleasant memory, and I have many of the same kind." Dr. Jebb, Member for the University, had married a first cousin of Fison; and a son of the great Darwin had married her niece. Altogether Dr. Fison found himself at home, an honoured guest, and treated as an equal by the assembled savants at Oxford. This is

mentioned to show the stamp of man who gave the best years of his life to the Pacific in general, and to Fiji in particular; but the *dénouement* is interesting. As a missionary he had refused to gain easy wealth at the expense of his conscience, and he lived and died a poor man. But so worthy of recognition was he deemed that the British Government in 1904 made him a grant of £150 per annum for his services to science, and when he died three years afterwards he was honoured and beloved by all who knew him.

When Fison went to Fiji in 1863 things were in a curiously unsettled condition. Thakombau had unwisely allowed himself to be called King of Fiji, although only King of Bau and challenged by Maafu, a powerful Tongan Chief, who aimed at larger control and influence among adjoining tribes and territory. One effect of Thakombau's complacency when given the kingly title was that the United States held him accountable for outrages committed upon its subjects, and fines were imposed which he could not pay. A government had been set up in Fiji, largely organised by white adventurers, but its capacity for maintaining order and extending Thakombau's authority was practically nil. To get out of an *impasse*, and to

obtain the means of paying the accumulating fines imposed by America, Thakombau listened to the voice of the charmer, in the shape of Australian capitalists, who proposed to form a company and give him several thousands of pounds cash for so many thousand acres of land. Fison's correspondence is full of the mischief which was brewing at that time. The Polynesian Company was floated in Melbourne, and was drawing in much money from eager speculators, — who subsequently lost it — so Thakombau proceeded to take from the natives the land he had bargained to provide. Herein was the chief trouble, because he found himself in direct conflict with his people. For to satisfy his creditors he proceeded to exercise his chief-ly powers by dispossessing certain of the natives, and civil war and worse was threatened. Finally, Great Britain had to step in to save the situation. The story is too long to tell here, but the point now is that Fison was present from 1863 to 1871, studying the position in all its aspects, and using his influence to prevent disasters which threatened from several quarters at once. Germany's ambitions for colonial possessions, and the visit of German war vessels before cession, quickened Australian public opinion, and ultimately forced Gladstone's hands. A

curious sidelight upon this may be found in the change of government in Great Britain just as the cession of the group was finally approved. Gladstone, who had approved when Prime Minister, disapproved as soon as Disraeli proposed to give effect to the policy of his predecessors; but at last everything was settled, and Sir Arthur Gordon landed in Fiji in 1875 as first Governor.

CHAPTER XII

NATIVE LABOUR AND GERMAN WAYS

Outside labour—Greed *versus* Anarchy—Tricks of traders—Kanaka and coolie—Can the white man manage alone?—Transfer of native labour—Re-unite the Solomon group!—"Whom God hath joined"—Chinese coolies under Germany—The outlook.

It will be seen that the same solicitude for the natives of Fiji was displayed by the British Government upon the cession of the group as had been shown for the Maories in New Zealand. Their rights in reefs and lands were not only respected, but objections were interpreted in their favour when doubt was felt as to the effect of native custom. In this way Fiji has been preserved for the Fijians, and the natives are in so comfortable a position that they do not need to work for the white man. Rather does the white man work for them in that he has to pay rent for their lands; and the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, as has already been remarked, is a tenant of substantial

proportions. For many years the plantations have been worked by outside labour, first recruited from other groups like the New Hebrides and the Solomons, and finally by men and women indentured from India. Under the latter system there are not far from 60,000 Indians in Fiji to-day, and the number is increasing. As the native-born Fijians are less than 90,000, and practically at a standstill, another problem is arising in the change of races, manners, and customs. But as the number of Indians increases, so does the demand for native land rise, because these immigrants in very many cases prefer to stay in Fiji when their indentures are served and their time is up. Free at last to work for themselves, they become tenants of the Fijians; and surveyors are kept profitably employed in measuring blocks of land for the would-be dusky planters from another part of the Empire. This helps to complicate the labour problem. One of the retorts against those who have insisted that the easy treatment of Fijians, in respect to lands intended for the Crown, has prevented settlement and the extension of cultivation, is, that the lands alienated to white men have not been fully cultivated. But again the rejoinder has been made, that without adequate

and efficient labour it is impossible to put land in Fiji to proper use. This problem, however, has been full of complications for more than half a century. In the days before cession the white man sought to put his hands upon land in Fiji because he could see immense possibilities in it. Soil and climate under a forcing sun promised production on a scale far exceeding anything in temperate regions in the Pacific; and native labour was plentiful if it could be somehow turned upon the land for the white man's profit. But the native Fijian was always independent, because with a little cultivation his food was certain, and the land was his own. This must be qualified, no doubt, by the admission that the chiefs were powerful and did many arbitrary things. They could, and did, take away land from the commoners and sell it to the white man; and they forced the natives to work to serve their own ends and ambitions. Moreover, the constant fighting had its effect in giving openings for enterprising outsiders to make personal capital, to acquire rights, and to obtain land. But always the chiefs knew that there was a brake upon their powers and a limit to their exactions, in the danger of anarchy. The people would revolt; and in the chaos powerful chiefs would be killed or dispossessed.

In this way some sort of balance was preserved; and when the white man with lands to cultivate wanted labour he had to be careful. He had to think out methods of getting it from other islands; and gradually there grew up a traffic in human flesh as vile in its way as the slavery which cost Great Britain so many millions to abolish. In the days before the Deed of Cession was signed, the business became so bad that a Commission was appointed by the Government established under King Thakombau; but when the evidence became so unsavoury that the members began to understand what lay before them, the Commission adjourned *sine die*. Some of the evidence was recently before the present writer in the manuscript report taken by Mr. Stanley Hall, one of the members, who is still alive in Sydney; and among other things vouched for is the story of a member of one of the crews of a recruiting vessel. He declared that it was the practice in some islands for the captain to put on a long white coat and white hat, to imitate Bishop Patteson, and to distribute pages from an almanack as the heroic missionary did his native tracts. The consequent kidnapping bore due fruit. The *Dictionary of National Biography*, in its short account of the first Bishop of

Melanesia, has a laconic sentence or two: He "was greatly aided by linguistic powers, which enabled him to speak readily twenty-three languages; he reclaimed the natives from savagery; and was killed at Nukapu in September 1871, in revenge for the kidnapping practised by the traders to supply labour in Fiji and Queensland. His death led to an attempt in England to regulate the labour traffic."

This brings Australia into the discussion as also needing native labour; and the development of her sugar areas in the first instance was only made possible by the recruiting of Kanakas from island groups in the Pacific. The abuses of the labour traffic caused much controversy there, and a great deal of searching of heart. Had it been possible, the whole unsatisfactory business would have ceased; but even Sir Samuel Griffith, when Premier of Queensland, anxious as he was to make an end of it, found it impossible to act. The interests at stake were too great, and he could not see his way to sacrifice the sugar industry, with investments running into millions sterling. Stricter supervision was provided; and the Kanakas at work in Queensland were carefully inspected, properly housed, fully fed, and given every chance of comfort. They were recruited by vessels under

Government control, and were not allowed to engage on the plantations until they thoroughly understood what they were brought to Australia to do. Gradually the cost of recruiting increased, and the actual supply of Kanakas decreased. More and more the white planter tried to meet the difficulty by co-operation and by the use of white labour; but when the Commonwealth was established its first Government decided to summarily extinguish the Kanaka by deporting him; and ever since the sugar industry has been kept going by heavy customs duties which make high wages for white men possible. Before federation, Queensland sugar had to compete in Australian markets with the products of the world, and was able to hold its own. After federation, it received the benefit of a duty which discriminated against black-grown Queensland sugar until the last Kanaka had gone, and a bonus was paid on white-grown cane. But the labour difficulty is still acute. It is becoming more and more evident that the rich lands in tropical and semi-tropical Australia will never be properly developed to any extent under existing conditions, because the white man does not increase or immigrate fast enough; and in any case he prefers to work south of the Tropic of Capricorn. Fiji, as mentioned

already, had to meet the difficulty by calling in the aid of India. This was ever an alternative before the Australian colonies previous to federation. Acts had been passed by some of them to make the indenturing of Indians possible; but nothing came of them, for the cry of a White Australia, even in those days, was beginning to be heard. Sir Thomas McIlwraith on one occasion discussed the question with the present writer and insisted that the only way to deal with the million square miles north of the line from Rockhampton westward was by a system of modified indenture. Indians with their wives and children, he thought, could be brought in for, say, a term of five years and then returned to India. The stream would increase, but be continually changing. Its volume might become greater, but like water itself the constituent particles would never be the same. There had been the suggestion of an immigration system, with a colour line drawn across the continent, below which the white man was to be kept inviolate; but Sir Thomas would not countenance the final settlement of Indians in Queensland. In Fiji the settlement of Indians continues apace; and although the native Fijian is now just holding his own, instead of dying out, there is every reason to suppose that he will

eventually be outnumbered and lost in a new population. Lord Hardinge, the late Viceroy of India, has declared that the present indenture system must cease, and that Fijian demands for Indian labour must be met in another and better way. What then is to come in its place? This is another problem; and the prosperity and progress of Fiji will depend upon its satisfactory solution. Whatever tends to increase the cost of labour adds to the difficulties of development; and the sugar industry in the group, with millions of money involved, depends upon a successful weaving together of the threads of conflicting interests. These interests are the white man's investments and his right to invest, and Fiji's claims for help as against the Government of India's responsibilities to the millions of people under its control. These demands from the Pacific for labour are being studied in India with increasing interest and attention; and the question is, how far can the British Empire prove self-helping when its very existence may depend upon the peaceful and profitable development of the rich lands in the tropical regions of the earth.

Australia may not be adding to British difficulties in the Pacific by demands for native labour, but her northern areas are a constant

source of anxiety to her. If she cannot populate and cultivate them, the swarming millions of Asia will continue to watch them with longing eyes; and experiments are being made at and round Port Darwin to show whether the white man cannot hold his own under all conditions. The Australian Government has been pouring out money to settle the Northern Territory, which now belongs to the Commonwealth and not to South Australia. State enterprise in various directions has been tried; white men working under union rules have been given a chance to do better than the Chinese, who, up till now, have run the place; and Federal Administration has not ceased to find the means for investigation and achievement. An expensive Commission has partly finished its labours; and judging by all that experts and peripatetic politicians have to say things ought to be done. But even under Commonwealth control the white man goes on strike at Port Darwin; and recently Government hotels sold no liquor for weeks, while the Labour Ministry was arguing with its supporters and henchmen in the far north. Up to date the Northern Territory has only added to Commonwealth worries; and its critics declare that Australia will never hold her million

square miles of country nearer the Equator by white enterprise or invention. If this should prove true, the labour problem becomes at once insistent of solution; but meanwhile it may be pointed out that in the Pacific itself Australia is responsible already for New Guinea, where the trouble lies the other way. There the white man is wanted, and the native is, if not redundant, at any rate in full force for cultivation and settlement. But the natives of Papua, as British New Guinea is called, have shared in the solicitude of the British Government, and are not much inclined to work. Their lands have been secured to them; and in some districts they seem to wish to keep the white man out. Yet Judge Murray, the Lieutenant-Governor, is satisfied that things are making good progress. He says there is ample labour for all requirements; the various plantations are beginning to bear; dividends will soon be paid; and the white settler has little to grumble about. But the latter, as planter, does grumble. It has already been shown how heavily he is handicapped by the discriminating duties of Australia. While the mainland markets are closed to him his catch crops are worth little, or are so far barred that even bananas cannot be profitably sent forward in large quantities. Moreover, he

insists that Government regulations so hamper production that there is little inducement to be enterprising; and he gives instances of failure in administration which remind the Australian taxpayer of his own increasing burdens and growing exasperations. This is just an indication of the general argument. But as far as native labour is concerned, there seems to be enough for all immediate needs. Natives can be induced to work, for their wants are increasing; but they are generally content to cultivate their own lands and watch the white man worrying to bring heaven to earth in a climate which forces production in a wonderful way when the conditions are understood.

Australia and her dependency across Torres Straits represent, therefore, the two classes of demand in the Pacific, in that the former must have labour and the latter simply asks for direction of it. The Solomon Islands as a whole may be classed with New Guinea in this respect; and, parenthetically, it may be remarked that the group should never have been divided with Germany, any more than the original remainder of New Guinea should have been allowed to fly two flags. If the German and British Solomons be considered as one group—and they are inhabited by natives practically one in language,

customs, and general sympathy—there is probably labour enough to go round. This is a subject into which recent inquiry has been made by Judge Murray; and he is credited with having expressed the opinion that there should be enough labour even in the British Solomons for plantation needs. If this be so the inclusion of the German Solomons should certainly throw the balance the right way. Taking the latter point as already under discussion though undecided, the question may be raised whether until the war is over it is not futile to say very much about the German Solomons. But the main position is sound enough, that the German grab upon the Solomons should never have been permitted; and if the war should end with this group handed over to Great Britain intact many difficult details will be settled out of hand. At present it is urged that the British Solomons want the help of Bougainville and Buka. This is the opinion of dispassionate observers in the Solomons, men with no axes to grind and no plantations to make profitable; and they point out that the trouble lies again with the natives who do not need to work, and who will not work for the white man unless compelled. The coconut is at the base of the business both ways. The white man wishes to grow trees and to

make large plantations of them. The native with a tree or two has coco-nuts and can sell them. Coco-nuts are so profitable that, in German New Guinea, rubber and other promising products have been abandoned for them; but in the island of Bougainville at one end of the Solomon group, and in Malaita at the other end—one German and the other British—not many trees have been planted. These are the most populated islands, and the natives are willing to work. Elsewhere the head-hunters have killed out the natives; or in some islands those left have plenty of coco-nuts and will not work. Now, the demand for native labour continues; and in the British Solomons it is a source of constant anxiety. It is true that for a time Germany encouraged the investment of British (mostly Australian) capital in Bougainville; and plantations have been begun. Labour is plentiful there, and nothing much remains to worry about. Moreover, Germany after a while shut down upon further investments of Australian capital; and the planters who were able to get in may argue, as monopolists, that their interests should be considered, that in any future disposition of the Solomons the present division should be respected, that in fact the British and German Solomons, though at one time single, are now two groups,

and that whom Germany has divided let no man unite again. An authority like Dr. George Brown, however, is quite emphatic upon the point. "Whom God hath joined," he says, "let no man put asunder." The German and British Solomons make a single group, and as a group they should be reconstituted.

The reader must be reminded again that the German New Guinea Protectorate is a term used to embrace part of New Guinea, the Bismarck Archipelago, the German Solomons, and much beside. These groups and islands have been administered from one centre; and in true Prussian fashion they have been forced into a common parcel with laws from Potsdam and red tape from Berlin. But there is nothing in common between the Bismarck Archipelago and the Solomons; the two could be kept separate. New Guinea again, British and German, should become one possession; and the two present sections could be as easily administered as the part now under Australian control. But as far as the problem of native labour is concerned a new arrangement would be helpful, other things being equal, and supposing that the groups of islands in the Pacific are to become water-tight compartments. If they become units in an island federation under the

British flag, other problems will have to be discussed.

It will be seen, then, that the Solomon Islands as one group may become very like New Guinea in having labour enough for the white man's immediate requirements; but what of Samoa, another late German possession? There 5000 Chinese have been imported to work the plantations, because the native Samoan, like the Fijian, has his own lands and cultivates them. What is to take the place of this new element in the Islands?

The Chinese are very much in evidence at Rabaul and through the Bismarck Archipelago; but the natives point to innumerable graves or mounds where the "Hong Kongs," as they call the Chinamen, lie buried, offering evidence of German brutality with imported labour. But that was in the days when the value of better treatment was not understood. More recently the German has discovered that he is not likely to hold his possessions at much advantage unless he can keep the natives, Chinese or other, alive; and he has been trying to understand British methods, and to some extent has listened to the voice of British missionaries. Yet in Samoa it is impossible at present to see what is to take the place of the Chinese; and under the terms

of capitulation they cannot be turned out until the end of the war makes that or something else possible. Wherever one looks this question of labour comes up, and without a settlement of it the future of the Pacific is full of serious doubt if not of misgiving.

CHAPTER XIII

AUSTRALIA'S DESTINY

"Trustee of the Pacific"—Rosebery at the Convention—"An epoch in the history of the Colonies"—Easy to annex Solomons then—Confused history since—Australia awake—She offered to pay—McIlwraith's Memorandum—Sir Samuel Griffith—The experience of MacGregor.

Lord Rosebery said in 1883 that Australia's destiny was to be the trustee of the Pacific. This, as the dictum of a responsible British statesman in far-off days, seems strange enough now that we are beginning to get our facts in better perspective. Lord Rosebery may claim that he spoke in Sydney more than thirty years ago and without authority. Probably he would insist also that he was not a responsible British statesman when he addressed a representative Australian audience during the sittings of a Convention which undoubtedly had given the Gladstone Government much to think about. But this distinguished visitor to Australia had only recently resigned from that Cabinet. He

had been a colleague of Mr. Gladstone with Lord Derby, whose refusal to endorse Sir Thomas (then Mr.) McIlwraith's action in annexing New Guinea had led to the Convention already mentioned. As such he could be credited with knowing a good deal of the inner history of the trouble with the Pacific; and his presence in Australia at a very critical moment was interpreted even then as significant. Thus when Sir John Hay, President of the Legislative Council of New South Wales, proposed Lord Rosebery's health at a banquet given by the Scotsmen of the colony to welcome him, he remarked that they could almost imagine their guest had come "for the purpose of ascertaining from personal observation what is taking place at the present juncture—that he came to see the intercolonial Convention . . . and to make the acquaintance of the members of it: that he came to weigh all the facts of the case, and to ascertain how far the Convention represented the whole of the colonies." In responding, Lord Rosebery neither denied nor affirmed. He admitted, however, that he was influenced to make the final decision to travel to the Antipodes by the knowledge that the Convention would meet; and two days after, at a dinner given by Mr. (now Sir) Edmund Barton, Speaker of the Legislative Assembly,

who became first Prime Minister of the Commonwealth, he made a further significant admission. He said: "I remember clearly the impression existing in my mind, up to comparatively recently, that there was not sufficient interest taken in Australia by the Mother country. Even now I think that on some occasions there has been a deficiency in that interest." To this the gathering of leading Australian public men assented with an emphatic "Hear, hear"; and Lord Rosebery rejoined with as clear an endorsement. "I am here to confess it," he declared. There can be no question that his presence and speeches impressed the public mind. It was felt that this able member of the British Parliament was more than an interested traveller concerned to gain new experiences. He was taking notes as an envoy and not as a sort of political Captain Cuttle, benevolently inclined but hardly likely to help or hurt anybody. To some, no doubt, it seemed absurd that the home Government should trust one seemingly so young. Lord Rosebery had spoken of himself as in middle age; but Sir John Robertson, a veteran politician of New South Wales, exclaimed that it was astonishing to hear so much wisdom from such youthful lips. Sir John was not given to paying empty compliments.

But whether or no, Lord Rosebery undoubtedly hit a shining mark when he followed up his argument for a better understanding with the following statement at the Speaker's dinner: "I will say that when the history of Australia comes to be written there will be nothing more memorable than the fact that in the year of grace 1883 a Convention of your leading statesmen met in Sydney and recognised the destiny of Australia, and that the destiny of Australia was to be the trustee of the Pacific. (Cheers.) That, I believe to be one of the greatest destinies that has ever been reserved for a powerful nation; and I believe there is more in it than I have said now, because it is a destiny unlike the destiny of any other nation, as it has to be worked out in perfect peace. (Cheers.) We in the Mother country are in a totally different position to what you are here. We have succeeded to the greatest inheritance that has ever been bestowed upon the world, and it is an inheritance so complicated in its title and so hampered by its traditions, so mortgaged in various ways, that it is difficult to know in what position we stand. But as for you, you can draw drafts upon the future, because you know posterity will honour your overdrafts."[1] In the

[1] *Sydney Morning Herald*, December 11, 1883.

same speech, referring to the effect of the Convention upon outside opinion, Lord Rosebery said: "There is one fact which will strike the imagination and intellect of all Europe, and that is this, that that Convention was an assembly of the foremost Ministers in office of all the different colonies, and they will certainly take it to be the first Congress which has ever sat in these colonies . . . to discuss, not local topics, but large national ones. For that reason it seems to me an epoch in the history of the colonies."

This was said with a large part of the island territory in the Pacific still available for any Power that cared to claim it. For another year the way remained open, and in that time Lord Rosebery had returned home to report. But no action was taken to secure Australia's position by large annexations, nor could anything very well be done, except by directly challenging Germany and Prince Bismarck as her leader. Sir Arthur Gordon's counsels had been against action. With regard to the Solomons, for instance, he had insisted that the British Government would catch a Tartar if it attempted to do there what had been done with Fiji. But Dr. Brown, writing as "Carpe Diem," had met that objection with a flat denial. Fiji had been taken because powerful chiefs in co-operation,

largely owing to missionary influence, had ceded the group; and through them subsequent administration had been made easy. Had there been opposition or division, Great Britain would probably have found her hands full and a desperate war would have ensued. But in the Solomons the chiefs were on a different footing. No cohesion existed; and while, perhaps, several small Tartars might have been caught, control would have been comparatively easy. This has proved to be the case since; except that in the Protectorate the Solomon Islanders have not been largely policed or prevented from murdering one another. Hence the population to-day is not increasing. White men in the group insist that the people are dying off, and that it is useless trying to prevent their disappearance. The Lieutenant-Governor of Papua, Judge Murray, would no doubt soon show what could be done if he had a chance in the Solomons under the same conditions of administration as in the Commonwealth sphere of responsibility; but that would mean more expense, and who is to pay? Great Britain may yet say to Australia: "Very well, take over the Solomons and do what you like with them within the limits of Imperial traditions and fair play—but you must pay." To this the reply undoubtedly would be that it must

be a matter for consideration, but that British administration in the past has left a great deal to be done. Why should not Great Britain bear some share of the expense? To discuss this phase of the question, with war raging and all the financial outlook for the Empire growing darker and more complicated, seems absurd, and yet the history of past relations in this connection needs to be recalled.

It is well to make this point, because behind Lord Rosebery's admissions lay a good deal of confused history. The Australasian Convention of 1883 was a surprise for the Gladstone Government of which he had been a member; and the *Times* in its summary of that year's events notes that Lord Derby's disavowal of the Queensland Government's unauthorised annexation of New Guinea had been accompanied by advice to the colonies. If they wished to deal properly with a difficult problem, they should think of confederation as a possible solution. "Quite unexpectedly," as the *Times* remarks, the colonies took him at his word; and the Convention in Sydney put a new complexion upon everything. It is not surprising that Lord Rosebery should have suddenly decided to visit Australia to discover the truth underlying this strong expression of public

feeling and opinion, in a land which a hundred years before was thought to be only fit for the dregs and offscourings of the population of the old land. For the trouble was greater than appeared. Great Britain, France, and Germany had an understanding about the Pacific, that no one of the three Powers should alter the equilibrium then existing by proclaiming protectorates or making annexations without consulting the rest. Queensland's action had threatened to disturb this balance. But Great Britain did not realise that Germany had been stealthily strengthening her position in several directions, nor that Australian opinion was being aroused by manifest signs of a policy of encroachment near the coasts of the continent. "Carpe Diem's" articles in the *Sydney Morning Herald* have already been quoted in this connection; but Dr. George Brown's strongest point was that this tacit understanding to do nothing was Germany's trump card. In 1884 Bismarck had announced that Germany's policy was not to form colonies involving expense for administration and maintenance, but to encourage the German trader, and in effect to prevent other nations from stepping in while forcing their traders to step out. Dr. Brown urged—in an article of the series on "German Policy in the

Pacific," which appeared in the *Sydney Morning Herald* nearly twelve months after the Convention had sat, but which only recapitulated facts known for some time—that "the claims or trading rights of some German firms, however small and insignificant, are to be put forward as barriers to the annexation of any areas wherein these claims exist." It was to be "heads I win, tails you lose"; and the result was bound to be embarrassing to any Government not prepared to follow the German method. These pretensions, continued Dr. Brown, could be made to cover a very extensive area, and would in fact "prevent annexation or the assumption of jurisdiction over any of the Pacific groups." As Lord Rosebery had pointed out in his speech at the Speaker's dinner just quoted, Great Britain was burdened by an inheritance so complicated in its title, so hampered by its traditions, and so mortgaged in various ways that it was difficult to know where she stood. She was certainly tied up in 1883, when dealing with Prince Bismarck, and Lord Derby preferred to accept the German Chancellor's assurances rather than listen to Australian protestations against German designs upon the Pacific. But further complications arose with the Australian Convention, because two of Lord Derby's

shrewdest rejoinders were met by replies that could not be answered again except by action of some sort. He had said almost in so many words: "If you want New Guinea you must pay for it; and in any case you must speak with one voice, and not with the conflicting words of six colonies jealous of one another." Australia offered to pay, and the Convention showed she was willing to discuss confederation, not as an abstract proposition but as something practical.

Sir Thomas McIlwraith's Memorandum—the Queensland Circular Note to the other colonies—on the annexation of New Guinea, puts the case very succinctly. He wrote of his action as Premier of Queensland: "There would be no difficulty in our doing single-handed, in that part of New Guinea contiguous to our shores, a great deal more than the Dutch have done during the last fifty years in the north-western portion of the island. Queensland has simply been desirous that New Guinea should not fall into the hands of a foreign Power, and that the requisite authority should be exercised over those adventurers who frequent the shores of that island. Experience in Torres Straits has already proved valuable in this respect. The 'beach-combers' who frequented the islands of Murray and Darnley have taken themselves off

since the annexation of these islands to Queensland territory. What was effected in Torres Straits could have been carried out with perfect ease on the mainland of New Guinea. All that was required was the acceptance of the proclamation, and I still think it ought to have been accepted." In 1875 Lord Carnarvon had declined to make extensive annexations, following the cession of Fiji by the native chiefs, because of the cost. The British taxpayer could not and would not bear the expense. Lord Derby repeated the refusal as to New Guinea on the same grounds, and for other reasons, such as "the enormous extent of the territory, the unknown character of the interior, and the hostility of the natives." Very well, Australia was ready to pay; and ultimately when Germany had forced Great Britain's hands by annexations in the Pacific, the principal Australian colonies cheerfully contributed towards the cost of controlling British New Guinea. When Sir William MacGregor became first Governor in 1888, £15,000 per annum was provided by Australia to enable him to carry on his work; and the protectorate was turned into a possession only because the Colonies were willing to bear their share of the expense.

It should be noted in passing that, after the

suggestion for a conference of the Colonies, which has since been identified with the greater movement towards union and bore fruit in the Commonwealth of Australia, Sir Thomas McIlwraith was not a delegate at the meeting in Sydney. Before the Convention could assemble a general election in Queensland resulted in his defeat and Sir Samuel Griffith (then also plain Mr.) came to the front, a comparatively young man of great promise. As Chief Justice of the High Court of Australia he has worthily sustained an already fine reputation won in the political sphere, but he has been specially identified with the fight for federation. His work in the 1897 Federal Convention formed the basis of the present Constitution; but his acumen and vigour as shown at the Convention of 1883 disclosed to the people of Australia "the mettle of his pastures." Sir William MacGregor has always acknowledged his indebtedness to Sir Samuel Griffith. In an interview obtained in Sydney, after leaving Queensland as Governor in 1914, Sir William gave some exceedingly interesting facts about his own life, and they may be offered here because they lead up to his great enterprise in New Guinea. If it had not been for Sir Samuel's recommendation in this particular, Australia and the Empire

would have been very much poorer in many ways, but especially in the example given of what a fine administrator may do. Said Sir William to his interviewer: "I have crowded a good deal into the forty-two years which I have seen of public life. I was about twenty-five, I think, when I was sent out to the Seychelles as medical officer over a group of islands where I had supreme charge, and had to do everything, even to performing the marriage ceremonies. That was the law under the Code Napoleon. I was also inspector of liberated Africans, to see that the slaves who were rescued from the dhows were fairly treated by the planters of the islands, to whom they were indentured. Then I was also inspector of schools, the language being French, and I had to learn the Creole language and the Swahili, which latter is to the African what Hindustani is to the native of India. Then, as Mauritius expanded in various ways, I was transferred there, also as a medical officer, and was in such a state of health that I was afflicted with malarial fever every third day. The position was such that, although I was receiving £800 a year at the time, I relinquished it for an appointment of chief medical officer at Fiji, at £350 a year. After being a year in the Fijis

I was appointed Treasurer, and then, when the Governor was absent, I was made Acting-Governor, so that at one and the same time I was Chief Medical Officer, Treasurer, and Governor—surely a unique position. That was my first experience of administrative government. In January 1886 I acted as Colonial Secretary to the Fiji Commission, which met at Hobart with other States' representatives, and it was there I first met Sir Samuel Griffith. When the question of the government of British New Guinea was considered, I was appointed, at the suggestion, I believe, of Sir Samuel Griffith, and served five years. Then the three colonies interested—Queensland, New South Wales, and Victoria—and Great Britain agreed that I should be reappointed at my own salary. But I never changed it. Then when my second term was up I was appointed to Lagos."[1] Finally, when asked what he thought was the proper method of treating natives—after his unrivalled experience—he unhesitatingly decided in favour of the lines he had laid down in New Guinea, which he said were now being followed by Judge Murray. "I have perfect faith in Judge Murray," Sir William declared, "but I would like to add that, had it not been

[1] *Sydney Daily Telegraph*, July 17, 1914.

for the continuous and uninterrupted support which I received from Queensland when Sir Samuel Griffith was Premier, I should never have succeeded as I did." It is due to the Chief Justice of the Commonwealth that this acknowledgment should be emphasised, but a volume will be needed some day to give Sir Samuel Griffith his proper place in the history of Australia.

CHAPTER XIV

AUSTRALIA AS A GERMAN CENTRE

The growing menace—A German firm invades the N. Queensland mining region—Warnings before the war—*Laissez faire*—The call for annexation—Chamberlain's refusal—His fallacies—Annexation in Imperial interest—Fiji—The Solomons—Ill-controlled—A new administrative district—Facts favourable—New Guinea waiting.

THERE is of course another side to all this. In 1875 Australia had been asked to give £4000 per annum to Fiji as a grant-in-aid, but had declined, principally because there was no united opinion on the subject. Arguing that the conditions of 1883 could not be very different from those prevailing eight years before, Lord Derby had repeated Lord Carnarvon's arguments, and had been surprised that the same result did not appear. He had not reckoned with Germany, while Australia had been wakening to the menace at her doors. This sense of danger has been steadily sharpened; and a great deal of Australian vehemence, as expressed in action

against German business enterprise since the present war began, has been due to the remembrance of so much behind. It has been one of the principal objects of German activity on the mainland, as we now realise—and it is interesting to give chapter and verse by way of further illustrating the truth — to make Australia in relation to the Pacific their centre of operations. The whole of North Queensland is a vast field for mining, and not many Australians have any idea of the potentiality of wealth which lies inland from Cairns. All the well-known minerals abound and other little - known ores, that were not suspected until the German operations were found out. One ore, for instance, was eagerly bought up by German buyers, and the miners supposed that in this purchase of the product of the Queensland deposits they were concerned with scheelite. Fortunately for them a Church of England clergyman, Archdeacon Campbell of Cairns, was able to make investigation as an expert geologist with a laboratory at his disposal. He had been the miners' friend and the prospectors' guardian, in that the laboratory, founded by subscription and maintained by the miners and prospectors was his idea. The Archdeacon has been able to give them the benefit of his knowledge, and to instruct them in

the way they should go as searchers after the precious and industrial metals. In this matter of German buyers for a rare ore he did some valuable research work, and discovered that the so-called scheelite was really "monozite," a radio-active mineral, worth £1200 per ton! The rest of the story may be told in the words of a recent writer: "About this time Teutonic activity was manifested in other directions, but forming part of a meticulously matured scheme. Representations were made by German syndicates to the Queensland Government, whereby it was proposed to acquire vast mineral concessions in the country back of Cairns. The Germans also guaranteed to proceed with mining and smelting operations on a gigantic scale, to be supplemented by a regular steamship service from Hamburg to Cairns and Brisbane; provided that the Queensland Government deepened and widened the channel of Trinity Bay, Cairns, as well as that of the Brisbane River, and also made the grant of extensive wharfage frontage to that river at Pinkenba, so as to admit of the berthing of the largest vessels of the Nord Deutscher Lloyd Company." The Queensland Government turned the whole proposition down, and now it may be a matter of regret with some people that the German capitalist was not

allowed to leave another hostage behind him as against the great cleaning up when peace is proclaimed. But the episode is interesting as showing how far-reaching were German designs, and how truly related were their aims, first to explore Queensland, then to persuade the Queensland Government to spend much money, and finally to acquire by conquest the whole of Australia.[1]

This charge against Germany may be met, perhaps, with the reminder that even in Australia the German as a colonist and a business man was welcome enough before the war. Whatever may have been felt in some ill-defined way by suspicious folk, it will be argued, there was really little expression given to it either in the press or upon the platform. To begin to attribute all this mischief to Germany, now that war has been declared and has been raging for so long, is to be wise after the event, and to interpret prophecy with a sort of thin claim to omniscience which is neither impressive nor amusing. But the truth is that before the war of 1914 warnings were given both in the press and in conversation. Again and again the multiplying of subsidised German steamers in Australian waters was

[1] "Why Germans covet Australia," *Sydney Morning Herald*, March 20, 1915.

animadverted upon, and German activity in the Pacific was never far from the thoughts of the British community under the Southern Cross. It was urged, however, that German trade with Australia was still very one-sided, and that Germany bought much more in the shape of wool than she returned in trade. The balance had continually to be adjusted through the bullion market; and the claim was made that it must be more profitable to do so by ordinary exchange. Nevertheless, it was realised that, underneath, Germany was stealthily encroaching upon the avenues of trade by illegitimate means, and her ways were suspect. She was not building gigantic wharves and stores in the Bismarck Archipelago—at Simpson's Haven—for nothing; nor was she extending her wireless stations in the Pacific for the fun of it.

In 1875, then, when Fiji was ceded to Great Britain, Australians called out for annexation elsewhere to complete the circle of protection; but it was denied because of the cost. The matter did not concern the mother country. If Australia and New Zealand wanted to feel secure within a wide circle of island groups tinted red upon the map, let them pay for it. Again in 1883 and 1884 the same rejoinder was made in connection with New Guinea, but with the

confession that "annexation" was not a nice word. New Zealand and Fiji had not been annexed, but ceded; and there were no powerful chiefs in New Guinea or the Solomons, nor in the Archipelago between, with whom to negotiate for territory on similar terms. Great Britain was not inclined to hoist the flag here and there in the Pacific simply to bring unwary natives under the dominance of greedy white men, who would exploit them and make further trouble later on by their demands for protection and for the full machinery of administration and political power. Such practically was the argument in favour of the policy of *laissez faire*, and Germany played down to the fears or fancies of British Governments all the time. But Australia and New Zealand undoubtedly felt insecure, and their genuine first thought was for safety, which only Great Britain could give. Their next thought was for better openings for trade, and so far feeling was divided. In 1902, the year following the consummation of union, Sir Edmund Barton moved in the Australian Parliament resolutions which accepted the full responsibility for British New Guinea; and his speech at the time makes to-day an admirable summary of the whole position. A request had been made to the authorities in London that past contributions to administer-

ing this territory might be continued, but Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, declined without qualification. Sir Thomas McIlwraith, in his Memorandum of July 17, 1883, had written of his own attempt to free Great Britain's hands: "I submit that a case has arisen which may be made use of to call into existence the higher forms of Government required to give effect to this policy of annexation. The Australian colonies are now united by sentiments of filial regard and devotion to the British Empire, though they are not represented in the British Legislature. The Imperial Parliament dominates the whole Empire, and the colonies are not represented in that Parliament, though their interests may be vitally affected by its decisions. It is not possible to give authoritative effect to the wishes of the people of Australia in anything beyond their own domestic interests, except through the intervention of her Majesty's Government." The Premier of Queensland had insisted that "Australian interests are involved in securing the peaceful and progressive supremacy of Australian influences in the adjoining seas"—that, in fact, Australia's destiny, to anticipate Lord Rosebery's phrase, was to be "the trustee of the Pacific." This, however, could not be a matter for Australia

alone. The interests involved were Imperial; and no doubt, Great Britain recognised her responsibilities to the extent of meeting Germany's move upon New Guinea and the Solomons by doing the thing she disliked. She annexed islands and has since paid for their administration. When Sir Edmund Barton asked for a contribution to the cost of controlling New Guinea, he was told by Mr. Chamberlain that it was impossible, and the Prime Minister of Australia was referred to a despatch on British New Guinea, No. 23, dated 7th June 1898. The Secretary of State for the Colonies had then written: "It is true that Her Majesty's Government has since materially contributed to the expense of the administration of the dependency, but each year it is becoming more difficult for it to induce the House of Commons to vote money for the administration of a Possession in which the taxpayer of the United Kingdom has so little direct commercial interest; and it is felt that the time has come when the grant-in-aid, which has been made for so many years, should cease." Sir Edmund Barton pleaded that much of this trade must prove directly beneficial to Great Britain, but he quoted another paragraph from the despatch in his speech in the House of Representatives in Melbourne before clinching the

general argument. Mr. Chamberlain had written further in 1898: "It is practically certain that if the possession (New Guinea) is to be developed, it will be by Australian capital and enterprise. What trade it at present does—amounting to less than £40,000 a year—is carried on with Australia." The Prime Minister of Australia noted at this point that the said trade was worth £128,000 per annum shortly after 1900; and it may be added here that for the year 1912-1913, preceding the War, it was valued at £336,000. However, Mr. Chamberlain's despatch, written in the year of Sir William MacGregor's departure from New Guinea, was once more quoted, and this time the extract is specially interesting. The Secretary of State for the Colonies said: "Experience in Fiji shows that the only enterprises which have been successful on a scale worth mentioning, have been those of Australian Companies and individuals, and it is unlikely that the fate of New Guinea will be different. The Australians are practically on the spot, and they have unlimited command of capital. The Australian, living in a sub-tropical country, takes more kindly to tropical life and work than the native of the United Kingdom. Similarly trade with Fiji is wholly with Australia.[1]

[1] *Federal Hansard*, vol. vi.

Mr. Joseph Chamberlain was Secretary of State for the Colonies from 1895 to 1903, and much happened in that period — the South African War amongst other things. It was a time of strenuous existence for officials in the Colonial Office and for many people outside, and Mr. Chamberlain's activities were in the main fruitful and much needed. But Australians looking back cannot help smiling at the remark that with regard to the Pacific "they were on the spot and had command of unlimited capital"; as though British capital was not almost the breath of their existence. Then, to insist that they lived in a sub-tropical country and took more kindly to a tropical life than the native of the United Kingdom was adding insult to injury, because the great problem of existence was and is to develop the temperate regions of Australia. The tropics represented in Mr. Chamberlain's time, and still represent, a problem of the most complicated character. For Australians to be told by a statesman representing the highest traditions of Empire—by a member of a Government controlling the destinies of many millions of people in India and other millions of people in tropical Africa—that they took more kindly to a tropical life than their kinsfolk in the old land, was a curious thing indeed; and Sir Edmund

Barton must have paused when he read the extracts in the House of Representatives. But the Australian Prime Minister's essential point, as it was Sir Thomas McIlwraith's, was that the Pacific was as truly an Imperial interest for Great Britain as for Australia. If Australia's destiny was to be trustee of the Pacific, she was not owner or legatee, and could only succeed in solving one of the most difficult problems in the world as she was assisted. Mr. Chamberlain, however, was firm, and Australia has been administering Papua ever since as part of the white man's burden. During the debate upon these resolutions as submitted in 1902 to the Federal Parliament, the Labour Party let it be seen that there was little sympathy with the Government of the Commonwealth, except as the white man's enterprise was severely restricted. Mr. Higgs, the present Treasurer in the Hughes Cabinet, denounced the idea that syndicates and companies were to be allowed any particular latitude; and in his view New Guinea was to be preserved for the natives. This is by the way, and may be left for the moment. Emphasis rather may be laid upon the immediate question, of whether an extension of Australia's responsibilities in the Pacific should receive direct financial aid from the home Government; and

at this juncture it comes up again for discussion, with so much of German territory in the Pacific in hand and likely to remain a part of the Empire.

This, then, is the issue to which the argument of this chapter has been directed. We may suppose that in the near or more distant future Australia and New Zealand will be called to a peace conference, and that they can give evidence of willingness and capacity to hold and administer enemy possessions in the Pacific. They will be able beforehand to satisfy Great Britain that they cannot face with equanimity a future which still allows Germany free range in the Southern Seas. But if Great Britain says that German possessions in the Pacific must remain within the British Empire, will Australia and New Zealand be ready to pay the cost of looking after them, and possibly of Fiji and the Solomon Islands into the bargain? What are the obstacles in the way, or are there any? It will possibly be urged that as far as the first of the last-mentioned groups is concerned, the question is one of expediency and not of cost. Fiji as a Crown Colony is self-supporting; but whether it will be advisable to ask Australia to take responsibility for it, or for Australia to propose anything of the sort, is another matter. This must be a question of Imperial adjustment, and will not concern outsiders.

As much may be said of the British Solomons, but there the German problem comes in at once, and the whole discussion is opened. Then New Zealand will insist, no doubt, that not only can she look after German Samoa, but that the group should never have been allowed to go out of British hands. To all intents and purposes she is another Britain in climate and temperament, and she may be trusted to give a good account of herself. Australia, however, as she debates the future, has to look at many things. It is more than likely that the Australian Government will urge that the Solomons ought to be united under the British flag. The feeling undoubtedly is that the group is one, and that nothing should be allowed to separate the islands. A strait runs between Bougainville and Choiseul, and this may have suited Germany nicely as a reason for dividing the group; but it cannot be divided geographically, and otherwise it is one. Therefore, the Solomons must be regarded as a single group. But whether Australia should be given charge is another matter. The revenue of the British Solomons for 1913-14 was about £25,000, and the expenditure considerably less, but the principle of administration has been that the Protectorate must be run with as little cost as possible. As compared with British New Guinea there can be

no question that it is a wild and ill-controlled possession. Murder and outrage are still common, because the Resident Commissioner is not a Governor, nor are the British Solomons a Crown Colony. When Mr. Atlee Hunt, Secretary of the Department of External Affairs in Australia, went to British New Guinea in 1905 to report upon that appanage of the Commonwealth, he pointed out that administration must be on the higher lines, and not on those based upon an idea of letting the natives alone as long as they did not murder white men. He mentioned the Solomons as illustrating the latter policy, and refused to recommend any approach to it. To-day, in the Solomons, some of the white plantations can only be worked as armed guards patrol them day and night. At Malaita, for instance, even the Government station seems within the danger zone; and while the mission station can be approached it must be with circumspection. To preserve order, as in British New Guinea, would involve extra expense, but it is difficult to see how this can be avoided in future. His Excellency Judge Murray would not find it difficult to extend his jurisdiction if asked, and would speedily put down the head-hunting and abduction which goes on in the Solomons; but he would have to do much besides. In Papua he

has to do very much more. If an epidemic breaks out he sends a medical officer, and in general as far as they can be reached the natives are under benevolent supervision all the time. Much of this comes under the gibe of coddling, which is so common in this connection; and yet it is difficult to see how fellow-subjects of the King can be left to themselves. In the Solomons, no doubt, the recruiting of native labour is well controlled; and justice is done as between native and planter when the white man wants help. But this raises the whole issue of native labour again. The Solomon Island planter wants to be allowed to recruit in New Guinea, as he insists that his supply in the group is hopelessly insufficient. If the Solomon Islands as a whole were included with New Guinea (British and German) and the Bismarck Archipelago, the new area could be made an administrative district under one Governor, with the system adopted in British East and West Africa as a guide. Such is the view now being discussed quietly in Australia; but the difficulties are recognised to be great. It would mean that the recruiting of native labour could be controlled over a wider area, and made available for weak points much more effectively, but the expense would be great—at least for some time. Should

Australia be asked to bear it? If so, can she bear it alone, considering that German New Guinea (including the Bismarck Archipelago) in the year immediately before the war cost Germany £100,000? Altogether, the question of expense becomes a serious one.

Now there is a discount to be made in dealing with these groups, as far as the cost to Germany goes; and Australia is not so much inclined to take over the Solomons as to hope that she may be allowed to hold the rest of New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago. The latter come more truly within her immediate sphere of experience and concern. Papua and Kaiser-Wilhelmsland are very much alike in features and general possibilities, though the latter territory is practically undeveloped. Germany put her strength more into the Bismarck Archipelago, the Marshalls, the Carolines, and Bougainville and Buka in the Solomons; but still on the New Guinea mainland she has done something. Just here it may be remarked that the annual cost of £100,000 per annum previously mentioned must be held to cover the whole of the area under the German flag in this particular part of the Pacific. Moreover, a portion of it was spent in strategic work, such as wharves and wireless stations, which would not necessarily

be required again under Australian control. Further, German plantations are more advanced than those in Papua, and are just coming into profitable bearing. The Bismarck Archipelago and the German Solomons have 55,000 acres under coco-nuts; while Papua has only about 22,000 acres, more recently planted, or 35,363 acres altogether under cultivation. But these comparisons need not be multiplied for the present. It is enough to say that there is no reason why what is known by Germans as the Old Protectorate (Kaiser-Wilhelmsland, Bismarck Archipelago, and the German Solomons) should not be included with Papua under Australian control, if the general lines of administration can be agreed upon. Critics will argue, no doubt, that the Australian Parliament did not show itself quite ready in 1902 to do the fair thing by British New Guinea. It took till 1905 to decide the question of reciprocity, the control of liquor, and so forth, and each debate seemed to discover new thorns in the way. At last it was decided that the territory should be treated, from the trade point of view, as outside the Commonwealth; although at first it was decided to give it the same freedom within the federation as the constituent States. The reply may be made that, at the time, tariff matters

and a "White Australia" policy were disturbing influences in mainland politics, and that changes of Governments added to the general confusion. Finally, Mr. Atlee Hunt was sent to New Guinea; and his report commanded more attention than is usually given to Parliamentary papers, because members of the Federal Parliament were interested and realised that an end must be made to delay. Its recommendations were noted, and many of the general conclusions have since been embodied in the administration of the Possession. But the Secretary for the Department directly concerned with these matters made a special appeal which is worth indicating in the present connection. His map showed in a startling way how narrow a strip of British New Guinea had really been brought under control. A ring round the coast was the only sign of the white man's knowledge and grip; and although something has been done since 1905 it still remains true that Papua contains a great area of unexplored territory. Extend this conclusion to German New Guinea and the Solomons throughout, and the truth is very impressive. Only those actually living in the Pacific at this end know how much remains to be done, and what vast responsibilities await the coming day of peace. In German

New Guinea and the Solomon Islands the white man's burden is hardly lifted. Savages of the most bloodthirsty type are still in possession of the interior of the main islands; and when disease is not slaying the natives they are killing one another off, for the sake of keeping busy. It will be no easy task that Australia has to face if, and when, she is asked to add to the Commonwealth most of what she has demanded in the past as essential to her safety.

CHAPTER XV

TRADE IN THE PACIFIC

The trader's complaint—Does not alter history—Commercial progress to date—Copra, sugar, bananas—Native revenue problem—Contrasted methods—Advance of copra under the white man—MacGregor's foresight foiled—Forced labour or dispossession?—Restrictions on banana trade.

WHILE it is essential to show the trend of British policy in the Pacific, and its results upon the natives, there is a business side to the general development of the various groups which cannot be overlooked. The white man who is neither administrator nor missionary has his argument and his grievances. He rightly insists that while the Empire is something more than trade, finance, and material prosperity, it cannot get on unless these factors are recognised and given their due place. In the Pacific, no doubt, there is good ground for the contention that although trade may follow the flag, the flag has followed the missionary; but the planter, the business man, and the financier, insist with

just as much reason that they are making missionary enterprise a vastly different thing from what it was in the early days. It is not necessary here, however, to elaborate the case for and against. Enough for the reader that a certain condition of things exists, that the natives have been, and are being regarded as human beings emerging from savagery, but still sufficiently civilised before the white man came to know the value of husbandry and to be able to live in settled communities. Even at their worst they show themselves capable of trading with the white man and of understanding his ways; and this instinct for business can no more be suppressed than the feeling of hunger or the desire for power. In New Guinea, long before the missionary paved the way for the trader and administrator, there were markets of a sort; and the makers of pottery in one district would load their canoes to exchange it for the products of another district, even as the white man does for commodities desired or needed. But it is the actual position to-day which must be faced. Sir Everard im Thurn has attacked the land policy of Sir Arthur Gordon and the conclusions of Lorimer Fison on tribal tenure, but he has admitted that it is too late to alter what has been done. Everywhere in

the Pacific a certain policy has borne fruit; and now the question is, not so much whether the policy has been a wise one, but what is possible under the conditions which have been laid down. A handful of white men cannot in 1916, or later, go through the islands of that great ocean, to a million and a half of natives who have become accustomed to the mild forms of British rule, and tell them it is all a mistake. Even a fanatic sees the logic of numbers under such conditions. Unless he can persuade the Polynesian and the Melanesian that there is something to be gained by a revolution, he knows that his gospel, whatever it may be, cannot stand against the facts.

This, then, is the point. The work of a hundred years in the Pacific has been done in such wise that while the white man is master he is also servant; and now that there is a good chance of Germany being eliminated from the competition in mastership, the question arises as to the future with the British Empire and its ideals dominant. Can the white man, as settler or trader, hope to do any better in future years than he has done in the past? Are the limitations to his activity likely to be increased or relaxed? Finally, what has he been able

to accomplish up to date? Taking the last of these inquiries first, it may be noted that just before the war in 1914, Fiji was in steam communication with Australia, New Zealand, Hawaii, and Canada, at regular intervals, and that her inter-island trade was run on the same business lines. The War has not made much difference; but as all places are more or less affected by the reduction of shipping and the limitations of freight, it is better to take figures, for purposes of comparison, only as far as 1913. In actual volume the shipping entered and cleared at Fijian ports in that year reached 705,186 tons; and of this total no less than 694,575 tons were British. The value of the trade covered by these figures was £2,240,000, of which the exports stood at a little less than one and a half millions sterling, and of this latter amount only £9531 was foreign. These statistics are offered, because it is possible to go back to a report made by the Hon. Dr. MacGregor, C.M.G., Receiver-General of Fiji in 1882—the Right Hon. Sir William MacGregor, P.C., G.C.M.G., of 1916—which reviewed the commercial position of the group for the seven years since it was ceded in 1874. Lorimer Fison, as correspondent of the *Sydney Morning Herald* in those days, summarised

the report in his letter which appeared in that newspaper on September 29, 1882; and among the opening remarks upon it is the following: "Like all the work done by the many-sided doctor, it is thoroughly exhaustive, clear, and as concise as its fulness will permit it to be. So valuable is it that we can but lament the lateness of its publication." The lateness, however, was put down to the extreme leanness of the public purse; and the note may be made that Fiji in 1882 was beginning to see large profits in sugar as a commercial proposition. Dr. Fison records the formal opening of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company's new mill, "and great was the Feasting thereof." Up to that date coco-nuts were the mainstay of the group; but with the increase of sugar for export the reign of King Copra was declared to be over, notwithstanding the additional area planted with coco-nut trees. Dr. MacGregor's report shows that in the years between 1875 and 1881, inclusive, the foreign trade of Fiji had risen in round numbers from £213,000 to £450,000; and the exports for the term exceeded the imports by over £17,000. In practically forty years, then, Fijian trade has advanced only tenfold; and whereas 7339 tons of copra exported in 1880 were valued at £109,785, the value

of that export in 1913 stood for only about £70,000 more. The export of sugar in the meantime has advanced from second place to supremacy, with an annual value of over a million sterling. These figures are full of meaning, and the business man who studies them can no doubt make out a strong case against succeeding administrations and the British Government behind them. Fiji should have done infinitely better. Had it not been for the difficulty of obtaining labour and the restraints upon land transfers, it would have trebled these latest figures for imports and exports; and, but for the Colonial Sugar Refining Company's enterprise, the group would have shown a poor total even in 1913. Sugar production has only been made possible by the introduction of nearly 60,000 Indians; and this again has become a subject of inquiry and controversy. In India, as has already been shown, action is foreshadowed which must make a great deal of difference on the business side, and greatly increase the cost of production. Space, however, forbids further reference. It is true that green-fruit exports figure in the statistics of 1913 at a value of £168,249; and that this could be increased indefinitely if the Australian market were open instead of being

half closed — the whole banana question is involved in this item. But the statistical comparison is a reminder that the most is not being made of the resources of Fiji, that the progress of forty years is small when outside advances are considered—such as cheaper and swifter steamer transit, better machinery, and so forth —and altogether there is vast room for improvement.

When the condition of the natives is offered as a reply to this general argument, and reference is made to the schools provided all over the group by missionary enterprise, the business man urges that he has as much right to consideration as the Fijian. His activities depend upon a policy of progress, based on some measure of certainty; and he insists that the rising generation of natives in Fiji does not promise much help for anybody. Even the missionaries, he says, are anxious about the prospects. From the business side there is urgent need of additional means of communication, more roads and provision for railways. The latter cannot be built without capital; and if borrowed money is not to be obtained revenue must be found. Since so much of the land is in native hands, though not properly developed, there must be some way of making it bear a share of the burden,

because substantial improvements of the sort indicated will add greatly to land values everywhere within reach. To admit, as even some of the missionaries do when asked, that the native lands should be taxed, is to raise several issues at once; but the immediate fact is that these lands are not at present levied upon for a policy of progress, and it would probably take a good deal of explanation to get the Fijian owners to understand what was involved under their system of tribal tenure. This difficulty in dealing with natives when the white man's needs for a great development are under discussion, promises to be as wide as the Pacific. Roads and railways will be required in the large islands, and always the ports and harbours must be looked after and improved. Revenue, too, increases with trade; and it will expand still further by taxing native lands if they become more productive. But will taxation force production? A commodity like sugar is not a subject for native enterprise, except in co-operation with the white man; nor is it likely to be for a long time to come. It involves the finding of large capital, if milling is to be undertaken; and even supposing that a central government decided to provide the machinery for sugar mills and supervise the production of

raw sugar, there would need to be an extensive organisation for bringing small planters into touch. White planters would require labour, but would natives work for themselves? Here, again, is a question which involves the climate of tropical islands where food is quickly grown and where life is easy. The coco-nut is declared to be an infinitely more promising instrument for helping the native than sugar-cane; and while sugar is king in Fiji, elsewhere copra is more than holding its own, it is dominating the position. When Godeffroy & Son started in Samoa in 1857 the coco-nut palm decorated the landscape, and coco-nut oil became an article of commerce. But the astute German could see that fortunes were not to be made under those conditions; and before Theodor Weber had completed his grasp upon the greater part of the trade of the Pacific, a method was devised by which the meat of the coco-nut could be profitably dried and made exportable. Its treatment in Germany and elsewhere then became a mere matter of detail, and for many years copra, as the dried flesh of the coco-nut is called, has been the mainstay of Island trade.

When Fiji was ceded and annexed, and the question of obtaining revenue to carry on the machinery of government became a thorny one,

Sir Arthur Gordon fell back on the missionaries to help him. He made levies upon the various districts, and for the time being the mission stations became financial centres. So much copra had to be found for the Government, and in due course it was ready to be turned into cash as the market provided ways and means. Lorimer Fison in his unpublished letters gives some interesting details of the trouble involved for the missionary. Before annexation he had to be banker and financier for the natives, and actually on one occasion had to fight unscrupulous traders who had made a corner in copra. Such a low price was offered for it that Dr. Fison could only get relief for his flock by arranging for the sale of their stocks by pooling them and dealing with the owners at the market rate in Sydney. When the traders saw that they were beaten they came to terms, but it meant hard fighting. After the group had been ceded to Great Britain, and Sir Arthur Gordon as first Governor was finding his feet, he decided that he would take over the copra levied upon for revenue as it was made, and let a German firm do the financing. He was inclined to be jealous of the missionary. Dr. Fison gives the result. Before this the money itself was provided for the natives, and the

revenue dues were paid in cash. This time the copra was allowed to accumulate, but when the German vessels arrived to take it away they were found to be too large for the purpose. They could not get near enough to load. Consequently the copra had to lie where it was, losing weight, until smaller boats could be found; and when the final tally was made the amount demanded for the tax was declared to be some £200 short. This became a subject for discussion, and led to friction and further controversy. The incident is offered as showing how for half a century the coco-nut tree has been a great and growing factor in Island development and commerce. In the British Solomons in 1914 there were 30,000 acres under coco-nuts as against 300 acres under rubber. This is where the enterprise of the firm of Lever Brothers is seen to be bearing fruit; and it may be placed beside that of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company in Fiji as an example of what is possible with the command of sufficient capital. Out of a total value of exports of £148,265 in 1913-14 from this part of the Solomons copra represented no less a sum than 113,229. Now the Solomon Islands, British and German, are wonderfully fertile and full of extraordinary promise, and Mr. Woodford, the British Resident, has done

fine work in showing both natives and white men the possibilities of the territory under his control. Ex-Senator Staniforth Smith, who visited the Solomons in 1905, says in his report: "When the Resident Commissioner landed at Tulagi Island—the present seat of Government—in 1897 the ground was so covered with dense scrub that a landing-place had to be cleared and a track cut through the riot of verdure to the spot where the residency now stands. To-day the greater part of the island is covered with fine coco-nut palms, while between the trees are growing bananas, pine-apples, pawpaws, sweet potatoes, and other tropical foods; the whole transformation has been effected practically without expense by the utilisation of prison labour, while the cost that would otherwise be incurred in feeding the prisoners on rice is obviated by the large supplies of native food given." The present writer understands that this has since been abandoned. In New Guinea, however, Government plantations are likely to help materially in defraying the cost of administration. Mr. Staniforth Smith was specially impressed with the value of the object-lesson given in 1905 to both black and white men. He reported of the Solomons that twenty-four "white" plantations had been established on about half a dozen

of the islands of the group, and that up to 1904 2888 acres had been planted with coco-nuts. Ten years afterwards the tally had reached 30,000 acres, and only an adequate supply of labour is required to carry on the story of progress. The business man says there is not enough labour and that administration is not helping him very much to find it. Officials, however, think that the supply in the Solomons is sufficient; but whether or no, the problem now is to make the adjustments necessary to serve the situation.

As to the place of the coco-nut in the future production of the Pacific there can be little question. Sir William MacGregor showed what he thought of it in British New Guinea—Papua as it is known—where he started Government plantations before he left in 1898, and so gave Mr. Woodford his cue. When Mr. Staniforth Smith visited Papua a second time in 1905 he found these plantations overgrown and neglected. No effort had been made to increase them or to build upon the foundations left by the first Governor, whose shrewd eyes could see so much in them. Sir William MacGregor, indeed, had imagination as well as common sense; and he passed an ordinance making it obligatory upon the natives in the coastal villages, and as far inland as the conditions would allow, to plant

coco-nuts. Each man was to be responsible for his quota, and the trees he planted were to be native property. This prince of administrators, as Mr. Staniforth Smith calls him, could see in his mind's eye a great stretch of coco-nut palms in native possession, providing stores of food against famine, ample nuts for the making of copra and the stimulation of trade, and an expanding revenue for the purposes of administration. Mr. Staniforth Smith's conclusion upon the whole matter, after denouncing the lethargy in administration which had allowed Sir William MacGregor's plans to come to naught, was that, with the exception of gold-mining, Papua had reached the nadir of economic development. He says in his report: "The male natives, before the British occupation, busied themselves principally in raids and fights and the manufacture of warlike weapons. Now all this has been stopped, and many of these modern Othellos, finding their occupation gone, are lapsing into habits of sloth and listlessness, from which, if they are not rescued, will result the deterioration of the whole race, morally and physically. If they were compelled to plant coco-nuts each year, and keep them weeded, they would be saved from absolute idleness, and, when the trees were bearing, the coco-nuts would be continually

falling to the ground, and the natives would be continually employed in making copra (as the Solomon Islanders are), which they would sell to the traders for various European commodities."

This is, no doubt, a sound business proposition, but the suggestion of compulsion upon natives not educated in European ideas of liberty has not appealed to Australians on the mainland. When something like forced labour was indicated as a possible detail in Papuan policy there was an outcry in the Commonwealth; and this led to explanations and much controversy. But the business man whose money is at stake, or who is asked to make a venture in helping to develop these tropical possessions, points to an alternative of deterioration and dispossession. He insists that there must be progress or its opposite. Nothing can stand still in this world either in business life or in the development of native communities under European rule. Therefore, it is argued, there must be a measure of compulsion upon slothful Papuans and upon natives in the various island groups of the Pacific. In the Annual Report upon Papua for the year 1913-14 the Lieutenant-Governor reminds the Parliament of the Commonwealth, to whom he addresses himself, that it is not always easy to enforce the regulations under which

natives are compelled to put in a certain number of coco-nuts or other useful plants. They must be persuaded. He says that "difficulties arise not only from natural indolence but also in some cases from the established custom of generations, whereby certain villages and districts confine themselves to the production of certain commodities, so that the community that makes canoes is rather insulted by a suggestion that it should plant coco-nuts." But the difficulty is being overcome. In the year reviewed Judge Murray shows that over 120,000 nuts were planted in the Trobriands, a group of islands within his jurisdiction. Unfortunately no guess seems possible as to the number of nuts planted throughout the Territory, but it is so far good that Sir William MacGregor's policy is at last bearing some fruit. As regards trade generally the Lieutenant-Governor notes a total volume of £335,000 for the year, of which amount the export of gold stands at a value of less than £50,000, copper ore at £19,733, copra at £26,063, and pearl shell £11,212. The total value of exports for the year ending June 1914 was £123,140.

Again the business man urges that there is vast room for improvement. He claims that the small planter with not much capital should be

able to dispose of catch crops—the products of a season—instead of being obliged to wait for coco-nut trees, which begin to bear in five years and do not bear fully till seven or eight years old. But bananas are almost useless except for local food, because he cannot get them into the Commonwealth market unless he pays a heavy duty, and his work must be done with the world's market always in view. This matter of banana production and sale is full of thorns, though alive with facts to stimulate enthusiasm and thought. Here at the doors of Australia are islands ready to pour in every week tons of the cheapest and most delicious food. The enterprise of John Williams, the great missionary who was murdered at Erromanga in the New Hebrides in 1839, has made a wonderful difference in the food-supplies of the islands of the Pacific, especially for the natives; but it should mean just as much to the white people of the mainland. The Cavendish banana has spread everywhere among the various groups, and other varieties have been established. Tonga, for instance, is making a new departure. It appears from the British Government's Report for 1913-1914 upon the Tongan Islands Protectorate (No. 829) that "during the year 8000 plants of the *Gros Michel* variety of banana were introduced

from Fiji and established at the Agricultural Station at Vaikeli." The experiment promises well, and shoots from the parent stock are being distributed. But the business man, who knows anything of bananas and is interested in their distribution, laughs sardonically when he hears the average Australian exclaiming at the soaring price of food. He will pay sixpence a dozen for Fijian bananas, very often twice as much, yet here are bunches by the hundred thousand waiting his word if he will but put his hand upon his own Government. He will allow Queensland bananas, largely grown by Chinese, to block his cheapest food-supply, simply to keep faith with those who preach protection to him without respect to fact or circumstance. It is a most extraordinary paradox.

CHAPTER XVI

GERMAN TRADE STRATEGY

Australia's complaint against England—Germany in the Marshall Islands—Jaluit Co.—Battle of trade-taxes—"Act of Colonial Policy"—Freehold or leasehold?—Change in German treatment of natives—Savages!—Difficulties of coercion—German trade gains ground—Commonwealth advance slow—Wanted, better administration—Fiji—Navigation Act—Germany's objective.

AUSTRALIAN trade experience in the Pacific has been a curious mixture of success and failure. Islands have been opened to trade by Australian enterprise, only to be shut again by the craft of German companies or the subsidies of the German Government. From the early days of the Godeffroy activities till the outbreak of war in 1914 there has been this unceasing competition, sharpened into exasperation for Australians by the astute and unscrupulous policy of Germany, which has rarely found much to hinder it—until too late—in the counter moves of the British Foreign and Colonial Offices. On one occasion recently things did

reach a climax, and Germany then had to climb down; but that was hardly Great Britain's doing. Such, in general terms, is the Australian business man's case against his own mother country, and it has been stated in detail more than once in the Australian press. In this connection the story of Germany and the Marshall Islands in relation to Australian trade is worth summarising, as it illuminates the whole position. Even if the War had not thrown such a lurid light upon German methods everywhere in the world the attempt to close this group would still have been remembered, but with different feelings. Germany's surrender to an Australian threat is, however, the main fact. In the treaty between Germany and Great Britain arranged in 1886 provision was made for equal trading rights in the islands of the Pacific; apportioned after the surprises of 1884, when the remainder of New Guinea, the Bismarck Archipelago, the Solomons, the Marshalls, and the Carolines were settled under the two flags. It was part of German policy for administering and developing these new possessions to work through companies. For instance, in 1857, Hamburg, the great German free-trading city, had sent forth, in John Caesar Godeffroy & Son, the Company which, through Theodor Weber, did so much to give Australia anxiety and trouble.

This same city now formed other Companies to work along similar lines. Godeffroy & Son, it is true, had to prepare the way for the German annexation of Samoa; and later, as the "D.H. & P.G.," under Weber, it did the same for German New Guinea and the rest. But Samoa, once won, became a place for well-paid civil servants, while German New Guinea and its multitude of attached islands was to be economically served by companies left practically to themselves. So the German New Guinea Company was formed in 1888, with the German Colonial Society as its sponsor, under a charter which gave it power to control and develop whatever possessions remained outside of the Marshall Islands and Samoa. The Marshall Islands were thrown into the arms of the Jaluit Company, registered in Hamburg and thus different from the German New Guinea Company in that it was one of the more modern type of companies with shareholders. The chartered Company was an imposing business with great capital, but the ordinary Jaluit Company only had a capital of £75,000. The latter, however, was empowered to administer the Marshall Islands and to collect rates and taxes. It was sufficiently equipped for German purposes. The Jaluit Company's object was to check Australian trade and finally to

eliminate competition. When it started three firms shared the trade of the group, one from Hamburg, which was taken over, another from San Francisco, and the third from Auckland; but the German firm had the largest interests. The American firm early realised that it was time to quit, and consented to sell to the Jaluit Company, but the New Zealand Company accepted the offer of a Sydney Company, which ultimately, however, had to follow the example set by America. The German firm carried too many guns. The Pacific Islands Company, as the Sydney section of this triangular duel was known, had received an annual grant of £350 for the carriage of mails—but not from the colonies of Australia. This was a payment from Great Britain for services performed. The Jaluit Company, however, was heavily subsidised by the German Colonial Office, and it was like a gun set upon a specially prepared position in the Marshall Islands. But Australian business men are not easily beaten; and Messrs. Burns, Philp & Company, with a great deal at stake, decided to fight for their interests in the Pacific, which were too valuable to be surrendered at the word. This shipping and trading firm had at that time no direct interests in the Marshall Islands, but it had a vessel trading with British protectorates

not far away; and from the trend of things it was evident that Germany would soon have everything in her own hands. To save what remained of Australian trade with the Marshalls, and otherwise to carry the fighting into the enemy's country, it was decided to put on an additional steamer and include the group in its operations. The Commonwealth became a party to this arrangement, and the basis of operations was the Treaty of 1886, which provided that British and German ships should "in all respects reciprocally enjoy equal treatment." No higher duties were to be levied upon the merchandise of each State than were paid by the subjects of other States, or of any third Power. It was perfectly clear on paper; but Germany showed in 1904 the same spirit as in 1914, except that the Jaluit Company tried to keep up appearances when it found itself in danger of being beaten.

As soon as the Germans discovered that they were not blocking the business through Australian ports, and that, indeed, Australian enterprise was making headway, the trouble began. A tax of £50 per voyage was already payable by vessels trading to the Marshall Islands, and the Jaluit Company raised this to £225 per month, where the owners were not established there. This did not at once force the hands of

Messrs. Burns, Philp & Company, though they were not established in the group; and the tax was raised to £450 per month. With contracts upon its hands, and determined to obtain justice through Great Britain, the firm still kept going; and then, with an export tax placed upon copra, the levies reached £900 per month. A climax was thus reached, and appeal was made through the Commonwealth Government to London. German vessels were, no doubt, paying the tax also; but then the Jaluit Company was in control and established. What was paid out of one pocket went into the other. Here the story may be shortened by pointing out that while Great Britain was slow to apply the necessary pressure, Germany at last consented to some appearance of fair play. The latter had become alarmed. Australia, through the Commonwealth under Mr., now Sir George, Reid and Mr. Deakin, and the State of New South Wales under Mr., now Sir Joseph, Carruthers, had threatened reprisals, and a valuable and increasing German trade with her was in danger. Yet even then the claim for £10,000 made by Messrs. Burns, Philp & Co. became a shuttlecock for several years; and although its justice was admitted, the resources of diplomacy were apparently insufficient to allow of a definite conclusion being

reached or payment being made. Although by the end of 1905 the main facts were in evidence, and liability was apparently accepted, nothing was paid. Nor was payment made in 1907, though later a compromise was reached and £4000 paid, while Australian vessels were not further tied up. There was still sharp practice in the matter of fees demanded for trading, because, while a German firm trading with one vessel in the Gilbert Islands — British territory — paid only £200 for the two years between 1905 and 1907, for a British ship trading to the Marshalls under similar conditions £500 was paid. This may be taken as typical of German practice in the Pacific wherever German Companies have become established under their Government. In the case of Godeffroy & Son, the German Government became an active partner after reconstruction. Theodor Weber was German Consul in the Pacific, and was always a vigorous worker for the annexations which so aroused Australia. The Jaluit Company, after this rumpus, was relieved of its duties in the Marshall Islands in 1906; and the Imperial Government took over the collection of revenue and the administration of the group. Obstacles to trading were mostly removed; but as showing how the German Company had made hay in the sunshine of its

monopoly the profits in 1904 were stated to have been £40,000.[1]

Australian threats of reprisals were effective in thus forcing Germany to be reasonable, but they really only sharpened her determination to be dominant in spite of the treaty. The facts given above may be found set forth at length in a series of articles which appeared in the *Sydney Morning Herald* during October and November 1907; and in another series, published in June and July 1916, is to be found the sequel. A quotation is made in the second article of the latter series which may be repeated here. Herr Dernburg was responsible for a speech in the Reichstag when introducing a measure entitled, "An Act of Colonial Policy," in which was the following statement: "Australian competition in the South Seas is very keen, and this competition will have to be driven off the field, since it will seriously restrict the market for German goods, unless large and fast steamers are available to maintain communication with the German colonies. The Nord Deutscher Lloyd has succeeded in driving from the field very keen rivals for the trade between New Guinea and Australia—rivals who made it very difficult for Germans to place their wares, and

[1] *Stewart's Handbook of the Pacific Islands*, p. 63.

who gave preference to English and Australian goods." The measure was passed; a large subsidy was granted; and the Australian firm specially aimed at—again Messrs. Burns, Philp & Co.—was eventually driven off the field. Since the war, however, the way has been opened again, and Australian trade is coming to its own. But the experience has moved thoughtful Australians to study the present position in the light of various sinister events in the recent history of the Pacific. Quite clearly Germany must never be allowed to trade with or about the Commonwealth again under conditions of unfair advantage—many are saying under no conditions whatever. It is quite true that her methods of dealing with the natives, and with the lands in the groups under her control, have been compared to Great Britain's —to the latter's disadvantage. Germany has simply dragooned the natives, however, and taken their land, or as much of it as she wanted. Great Britain has treated the people of the various groups as capable of being civilised, and where possible as responsible beings. She has left them their land and surrounded them with safeguards in its possession. But in German territory the freehold of land has been obtainable on comparatively easy terms, while in British

protectorates and annexed groups leasehold for long periods is the rule. Even the specially favourable conditions imposed in British New Guinea, where the first ten years of ninety-nine-year leases carry no rent for the smaller areas, and where the rent for subsequent periods is nominal, make the business man or would-be planter shake his head. The ordinary Briton, as the average Australian, does not like the idea of periodic appraisements, nor can he reconcile himself to a tenure which gives him less than freehold.

In the same way native labour is a thorny question, and the German method of enforcing discipline has been quoted as not unworthy of imitation. Its cruelties, abuses, and exactions have been forgotten in face of large plantations, well-paved roads, fine residences, and all the organisation of German municipal and social machinery. But the business man does not forget that before the War there had been a change in German administration. The natives of German New Guinea, if engaged by white planters, were under strict regulation, and more humane treatment was becoming common. It was not profitable to find the natives dying out or scurrying away in dismay whenever the official German, or even the unofficial white man, came

in sight. Mr. Poultney Bigelow's reminder, too, comes in here to show the folly of it all. When he was visiting the German New Guinea Protectorate in 1906, he was warned not to go near a certain island, because of the specially intractable savages upon it. They had been punished for attacks upon Germans, and a recent visitation had just been made by the authorities. This apparently only stimulated the visitor's curiosity, and on the first opportunity he took his American canoe and slipped over to interview the bloodthirsty cannibals. He had no difficulty in making friends with them, and found that they were harmless enough for anybody but Germans. As a matter of fact, he was able to procure one of their idols — an unexpected favour under the circumstances— and by careful balancing and manœuvring with his canoe managed to get it on board the steamer for transit to the United States! The whole incident is given as an example of German ways and the fruits of German rule.[1] The natives of the Pacific are not fools, and they know their friends from their enemies. It is an interesting reminder, too, of the business value of ordinary kindness and consideration. But the Lieutenant-Governor of British New Guinea in

[1] *Prussian Memories*, p. 149.

the Report quoted in the previous chapter adds to the illumination on this point by his reference to the planting of coco-nuts in the Trobriands. In his communication to Judge Murray the officer responsible for these islands shows the special difficulties of attempting coercion even with apparently tractable natives. The ukase had gone forth that coco-nuts were to be planted; but when it came to deal with the natives who had refused to obey, the business became so involved that persuasion and reasoning had to take the place of compulsion. Excuses had been made that there were no ripe nuts, but a little arithmetic showed that plenty were available somewhere. Then it came out that the commoners hid their nuts because they were afraid the chiefs might ask for them; and the chiefs in turn did the same lest their own nuts should be stolen. Clearly there were plenty of ripe nuts for plantation purposes. Then the officer had to show why Government wanted nuts planted. It was to help the natives maintain stores of food for themselves and so prevent famine. When this truth dawned upon them the trouble was over, and the task became a pleasure, with substantial personal profit in it. Germany had begun to learn the lesson before the War; and Australian business men have

quoted German methods only to remark upon the increasing expense of labour even in German possessions and the advancing strictness of control in its employment.

Now what of German trade in the Pacific? How does it compare with that of Australia, as representing British enterprise? The total figures are, not astonishingly, in favour of Australia. Perhaps it might have been expected that German bounties, an increased number of German steamers with the full right of entry to British ports, and freedom from many of the burdens and exactions of Australian legislation, would have worked the other way. Undoubtedly it has not been from lack of effort to alter the balance of advantage, and in time Germany would have become more and more the controlling factor. Her plantations have been increasing in area and production, as witness the figures dealing with the German New Guinea Protectorate, which includes the groups to the northward. In 1910 the total trade was valued at £364,383; in 1911 this had advanced to £470,408; and in 1912 to £545,647. The latest figures are not available, but they may be taken to be about £600,000. The facts show that the trend upwards has been steadily maintained. How far copra has become the

mainstay of export in this part of the Pacific will be seen in the dissection of the above figures for the New Guinea Protectorate alone. Out of the exports in 1910, valued at £181,130, copra is set down for £151,956. In 1911, the exports had risen to £205,471, and copra to £166,597. In 1912 the exports were £252,055, with copra £202,603. That is to say, in three years the value of the total amount of copra exported was 77 per cent of the whole. For Samoa almost the same figures may be quoted as for the Bismarck Archipelago, the German Solomons, and Kaiser-Wilhelmsland. The two sets run astonishingly close for the two groups, and copra remains practically in the same proportion for each. Now the value of the total trade from German possessions in the Pacific for 1912 was about a million and a half sterling. Probably by the time War was declared in 1914 it was well up to a million and three-quarters or more per annum and increasing fast, while the total value of Australian trade with the Pacific was about two millions sterling. Counting in New Zealand the balance was substantially on the side of Australasia, but the business men throughout the British area were growing more and more dissatisfied. Their shipping was not being aided against the enemy, so they insisted, but was

more hampered than before. While the German New Guinea Protectorate could show advancing exports, sent largely to Germany in German steamers, and a trade valued for the year before the War at £600,000, British New Guinea seemed to be moving so wearily by comparison. It is true that the Lieutenant-Governor of the latter Possession, Judge Murray, reported just before the War that the volume of trade, like the revenue, had doubled in five years; but as the exports to Australia were only worth £90,392 in 1913, and the average per annum for the previous quinquennium was about £73,000, there was truth in the contention that the rate of progress was slow. Moreover, to make even so much possible, the Commonwealth contributes £30,000 per annum to the Papuan revenue. A reply may be offered that for many years the German New Guinea Protectorate has cost Germany £50,000 per annum, and that for two or three years before the War this annual expense was doubled. But the Australasian business man argues that a British possession after so many years should be doing better; and he points out that his special handicap has been a militant Germany on the one side and a coddling or harassing Commonwealth on the other. Where he should have been doing

much business all over the Pacific under the equal trading provisions of the Treaty of 1886, he had found German doors steadily closing upon him or shut altogether. By a piratical use of mounting subsidies German shipping and mercantile enterprise had been made more truculent and was becoming increasingly successful. In the British circle of operations he declares that he has never been given much encouragement by official administration, which is usually organised to help the natives and is tied up with red tape, with its principal knots tightened from Fiji, owing to the distance of the main growing centres of trade from the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific.

But the War has taught its lesson. It has been realised that everything Germany has done in the Pacific in the years leading up to 1914, has been a preparation for war—it has been war. The planting and trading have been carried on to aggrandise Germany, and the final word has been to destroy all rivals. There has been no fair play about it. This invincible purpose has controlled everything. Now the Australian business man is thinking of a Pacific in which peace shall be real and continuous. That ocean is to be true to its name. Yet he cannot imagine anything of the sort unless

administration in future is single-minded, in that the absurdity of a High Commissioner resident in Fiji shall cease.

Dr. George Brown, when writing as "Carpe Diem" in the 'eighties, and again in 1907, protested against this control from a group at the limits of possession, instead of at its practical centre in Sydney. In articles in the Australian press business men continued the protest, but nothing came of it up to the outbreak of War. The Colonial Office had apparently grown weary of the Pacific, and Fiji was near enough for the officials at Downing Street. Meanwhile correspondence and jurisdiction were hampered by many hundreds of unnecessary miles of communication—miles doubled and sometimes quadrupled as interests and causes became more complicated. But now the dawn seems to have come. "Surely," says the Australian business man, the white planter in the Islands, and the trader in difficulties in various groups—"surely there will be changes when the War is over." They anticipate a great extension of Australian influence and control, though again one hears doubts expressed and difficulties made vocal. How can Australia hope or expect to increase her trade and see steamships multiply under the New Australian Navigation Act which is to

come into force after the War? Its provisions are so drastic that outside lines will be penalised past remedy, and will be kept out altogether if they do not submit to Australian conditions. Such is the general contention, and again German concentration and purpose are remembered. The trade of the Pacific in future should grow by leaps and bounds; and Australia must be ready to greet the world with fair play and with reasonable terms if she is to survive herself. She must compete in the world's markets, and accept the world's prices, if she is to handle the growing products of tropical possessions, fertile beyond the wildest dreams of the farmer in temperate regions.

Such is a summary of the Australasian business man's position and case, as far as it can reasonably be presented in so small a compass. But for the world at large the essential point is that Germany was continually spending large sums of money upon her possessions in the Pacific and never making colonies of them. The resident Germans were usually civil servants, with a few traders and planters whose main idea was to make fortunes and get out. But the German civil servants multiplied and were well paid and given ample leave—all for a definite purpose. Germany was

determined to obtain a place in the sun, not of the tropics, for she had that already, but in the temperate regions. Australia was her referring centre in the Pacific. This is the point Lord Cromer makes in his recent volume of collected essays. In the essay on "Pan-Germanism" he notes that the German, with the world for his unit of comparison, necessarily took in Australia, and that when four continents had been absorbed there would still remain a fifth un-Germanised. He continues: "Was Australia to remain outside the fold? Emil Jung, an Austrian writer, answered this question with a decided negative. It was foolishly thought that the Australians, who have recently shed their blood like water in resisting German aggression, would be readily persuaded to assert their independence, and to inflict an incurable wound on their Motherland —*Aeternumque daret matri sub pectore volnus.* When this happened it was essential that Germany should be prepared to step into the lapsed heritage of England."[1] The whole of Germany's expenditure in tropical latitudes was ultimately to be reimbursed by constituting the island continent an integral part of her Empire; and then she could have plenty of trained men for her purpose. As revenue expanded and trade

[1] *Political and Literary Essays*, 3rd series, p. 118.

developed Samoa and New Guinea were forced to accommodate more and still more well-paid officials. Yet Australia made progress in spite of everything. She was a most determined antagonist, notwithstanding the handicaps her business men had to carry in Labour politics and British lassitude. Even Fiji, a British Crown Colony, was being mainly developed from Australia. Although in the fifteen years before 1908 the exports to the mainland had never exceeded an average value of £100,000 per annum, in the quinquennium between 1908 and 1912 they expanded to an annual average of £313,366; and for 1913 they were over the half-million—nearly half the amount being represented by bananas. Her sugar, however, went to New Zealand. Germany watched it all with jealous eyes, and with an overweening ambition which at last precipitated war. Can it ever happen again? The Australian, who also has been studying the trend of things, says "No"; and if he can help it Germany will never be able to repeat her effort to conquer the Pacific. But he insists that all must work to a common purpose, or the future will be as full of disappointment as the past.

CHAPTER XVII

AUSTRALIA AND AMERICA

Temperamentally akin—Australia's good-will—Logic of events rouses U.S.A.—Fiji—Fison's efforts for an understanding—Their effect—Samoan chiefs ask annexation to States—Bad division of group—Grover Cleveland's view—The new division after the War—Prospects of administration.

THERE remains one subject for consideration which might be left over at the present moment, but which from the Australian point of view should be given its place. This has reference specially to the position of the United States in the Pacific Ocean, and to Australia's general attitude to American claims and achievements. It should be said at once that, up to the outbreak of war in August 1914, the feeling in the Commonwealth was one of cordial friendship. Nothing had transpired in the years preceding that momentous month to mar the harmony of relations which had, perhaps, little in them to create discord, but which certainly contained all the elements of enduring amity. Australians

found themselves temperamentally akin to the Americans who visited them or to whom they travelled as students, business men, or mere pleasure-seekers. One can speak with experience of the welcome given to American literature in Australia; of the hearty understanding of writers like Lowell, Hawthorne, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Emerson, and so many others, on the more serious or lighter side of life and living; and of the warm appreciation of Bret Harte and his school in a thousand camps and country stations throughout the wide reaches of an island continent. This was thirty years ago; and ever since the interest in our Transatlantic cousins and in their progress as a nation has been constant and consistent. They have appealed to us as kinsfolk, with the same language and the same blood. Their wonderful development as the West has rivalled the East, and as at last a hundred millions of people were known to be settling in comfort and increasing prosperity across the common ocean, appealed to Australians as a sign of their own day of destiny. The two continents were to be truly in sympathy and more than capable of joining hands in any great emergency; and events had heightened, not reduced the common sense of allied interests and a growing co-operation.

This, perhaps, may have hardly found equal or reciprocal feeling on the other side. Americans were thinking for many years of their own internal growth and were concentrating upon developing resources the magnitude of which had only begun to be realised. Now and again the Pacific as a field for enterprise, and latterly as a possible source of danger, was advertised and had to be reckoned with. The war with Spain did something to show the average citizen of the United States that his future might be prejudiced if he did not lift his eyes from the dollars at home to the means of securing them in safety by a sound policy abroad. Further back, and just after the Civil War, there had been trouble over Samoa; and Germany and the United States had almost come to blows. Only the great hurricane in 1889 had saved the situation and given diplomacy a fresh start. But from that extraordinary event came the American Navy; and it was a revelation to Australia when a fleet of battleships flying the American flag entered her harbours in 1908 and showed what could grow out of such a beginning. These things, no doubt, had helped to arouse interest in Australia on the other side of the Pacific; but the United States loomed larger in the Australian thought for many reasons than

was the case reciprocally in America. It was not primarily a matter of bulk or of millions in population. The Australian could remind the American that his own continent was larger in area than the whole of the United States; and even if four or five millions of people seemed ludicrously small beside the mighty population on the farther side of the great ocean, the production and trade *per capita* were quite comparable. Moreover, Australia has always felt that time was on her side. The day was bound to come when the empty continent would become a great lure for seeking settlers, and when America's experience with a polyglot population would become a guide for future conduct in selecting or rejecting possible immigrants. But always there was the feeling of kinship and a common understanding.

As far back as the 'sixties—after the Civil War—when American adventure in the Pacific was helping to stir the devil's broth which Germany had started to brew, the Australasian note was not one of resentment but of friendly understanding. Samoa and Fiji were both receiving attention at Washington, and the position in the latter group was made increasingly difficult by the demands of the American authorities upon King Thakombau. Nothing at present is

more interesting than to go through the letter-books of Dr. Fison for the period in question. His family was related to that of Professor Goldwin Smith, who had been able to note a little of the condition of things in Fiji from the missionary's letters written to sisters at Oxford and read to him from time to time. When Goldwin Smith went over to America, Fison wrote a long account of the difficulties which had been created by the demands of the United States, showing that grossly unfair assumptions had been made and that Thakombau's position was not that of King. Fison knew that Goldwin Smith was in touch with the Government at Washington and through his friends had access to the President himself. The letter, as one reads it to-day, is a very interesting document in its clear running hand and perfect control of fact and expression. It was evidently intended to be handed to those in authority and yet it was not different, as a specimen of the missionary's correspondence, from his multitudinous letters to his friends, to his sisters, and to inquiring men of science. That is to say, all his letters were written so that they could be read and in order that their contents could not be misunderstood. But this was particularly well written. As a chapter on a singularly interesting point

of Fijian history it could be printed as it stands; and it concludes with a paragraph which deserves to be quoted as showing what was then in Dr. Fison's mind, and what has indeed been in the minds of many Australians from that day to this. The letter is dated from Rewa, Fiji, December 18, 1869, and deals exhaustively with the whole question of Thakombau's title as a basis for the claims of the United States. In parenthesis it may be remarked that the position of the missionaries in Fiji had been prejudiced by one of their number who had written a leading article for the little paper published in the group, the *Fiji Times*, supporting the doctrine of the Kingship. A copy containing this article had apparently been sent with each lot of papers relating to the case of the American citizen, which was then being investigated; and the danger was lest it should be accepted as authoritative. Dr. Fison was emphatic that the missionary in question stood alone, and that his seniors and juniors were fully persuaded "that Thakombau was not King of Fiji, and that he had not even a shadow of right to the title." Then the letter concludes:

"God knows I have not written about this matter in a spirit of hostility towards America. I believe in that land as John Bright believes.

It is part of my daily prayers that God may bring about a better understanding between its people and our own, resulting in brotherly love and brotherly help. I look forward to the day when all English-speaking men shall be drawn together with bonds of love which no Evil Power shall ever be strong enough to sunder. I believe that in spite of obstinate old-worldism at home, and petulant young-worldism abroad, God will yet bring this to pass; and that if my eyes behold it not on earth, I shall nevertheless look down upon it from Heaven. And, this believing, I would cut off my right hand, or pluck out my right eye, rather than speak the lightest word which might in the smallest degree tend to retard the healing of the old wounds, and the filling up of the awful breach which God, as the just punishment for our national sins, has allowed to be opened between us."

It must be remembered that the American Civil War was not long over, and that the feelings of the North were still inflamed over Great Britain's official sympathy with the South. In some respects the present position between the two sections of one great people is like that of 1869 reversed. The soreness is on our side, because President Wilson has not seen his way to denounce the awful outrages upon Belgium

or to deal promptly and effectually with Germany for the sinking of the *Lusitania.* But in Fison's day, when the letter to Goldwin Smith was written, the war was over, and the missionary had every hope that his case for fair play would reach the President and be considered. He did not venture to ask that Goldwin Smith would directly interest himself in the matter, and he wrote finally: "I have laid the facts of the case before you: I leave them with you: but if you *can* see your way to make the United States Government aware of those facts by such means as you think best, you will thereby do a great good; for I have faith enough in America and the Americans to believe that no more would be required." In the end the case was reopened. The Government of the United States sent other officials to investigate, and some reduction was made in the amount of the fine demanded. But the general position is so interesting because in both Fiji and Samoa the question of Kingship was raised, with Great Britain and America joined in the puzzle as to the best way to deal with it; while Germany was seeking all the time to aggrandise herself at the expense of everybody else. In Fiji the visits of German gunboats helped materially to hasten the day of cession by the chiefs; but with

respect to Samoa neither the United States nor Great Britain seemed able to find a way to save the group from the German coil. The chiefs had again and again implored Great Britain to step in as overlord; and when she declined to help them by annexation they turned to America. Dr. George Brown, writing from Samoa on May 6, 1872, said: "We are in a transition state here just now, and I expect very great changes to take place in Samoa. Some American gentlemen have been here, and have got all the chiefs of both parties to sign a paper asking for annexation to America. This has been sent by express to America, and in a few months, it is said, Samoa will be declared a territory of the United States, and will be constituted a State as soon as the population reaches the proper number. The paper which they have signed is a very fair one indeed, and grants the Samoans all the rights and privileges of American citizens. I think it will be an excellent thing for Samoa, as I have long given up all hopes of their ever being able to establish a Government of their own. The worst is the mania for selling their land, which has possessed them. They seem mad on the subject, and are rapidly parting with every acre they have. An immense American company has been formed,

of which President Grant is said to be the Chairman, and they are buying up land in all directions, and so is Mr. Weber and others." We know that much of this madness arose from Samoan quarrels in which fighting became a commonplace and the white man's guns and ammunition were indispensable adjuncts. But these weapons could only be obtained at a price; and Godeffroy & Son, through their Bismarckian manager, Weber, took care to make their profit both ways. They fomented these intertribal quarrels and then exchanged guns for land to forward the subsequent wars. German interests all the time were increasing in value, and the volume of German trade at last was greater than that of Great Britain and the United States put together. But the way in which power was acquired by Germany was an evil one; while the other two Powers were concerned to get the Samoans to settle down. Yet when the actual decision had to be made the American Government refused to accept Samoa as it was offered by the native chiefs; and out of that refusal in 1872 came the troubles which culminated in hostilities with Germany in 1889, only broken or prevented by the hurricane. Finally the Tripartite Treaty of 1900 divided the group between Germany and the United States,

and now Great Britain has stepped in to take the place of the former Power. Is it not reasonable to assume that the Anglo-Saxon race will agree in Samoa and make a success of administration in the group? Is it not also certain that Australasian interests will be served by a closer understanding with America?

The questions which arise here have their parallel in the present division of the Solomon Islands. In an adjustment made in 1884, after the annexation by Germany of part of New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago, that Power was allowed to retain possession of Bougainville and Buka; and Great Britain took the remainder. It has been argued in previous chapters that this division was wrong at the outset, and that when peace is proclaimed it should be abolished. But Samoa is a group with just as much claim to unity in the people which inhabits its several islands. The troubles which culminated in 1889 had certainly shown them to be a difficult race to manage, because they were always fighting and the clans were eternally jealous of one another. Nevertheless they are one people, speaking the same language, and related by ties of blood as truly as the Solomon Islanders. If then it be urged that the Solomon Islands should remain one group under

a single Power, what is to be said of Samoa? Germany under the Tripartite Treaty of 1899, which was ratified by the United States in 1900, obtained the islands of Savaii and Upolu on one side of longitude 171 degrees west; while the United States took the island of Tutuila and the rest on the other side. The history of the struggle in Samoa between Germany and the United States, with Great Britain sometimes looking on or mediating, and at other times asserting her own claims, is thus full of interest as one glances back upon the final arrangement. A sidelight is thrown upon it in President Cleveland's message to Congress from the Executive Mansion in Washington on January 15, 1889. In this he pointed out that in the effort to restore order during the disturbances in Samoa he had exercised such powers as seemed to lie within executive control under the constitution and laws of the United States and as appeared to accord with national policy and traditions. The President declared that America, working with Great Britain and Germany, had tried by negotiation and agreement to define more clearly the limits of the interest and authority of the three Powers; but these negotiations "were at one time interrupted by such action on the part of the German Govern-

ment as appeared to be inconsistent with their further continuance." Then President Cleveland added a very significant paragraph: "Germany, however, still asserts, as from the first she has done, that she has no desire or intention to overturn the native Samoan Government or to ignore our Treaty rights, and she still invites our Government to join her in restoring peace and quiet. But thus far her propositions on this subject seem to lead to such a preponderance of German power in Samoa as was never contemplated by us, and is inconsistent with every prior agreement or understanding, while her recent conduct as between native warring factions gives rise to the suspicion that she is not content with a neutral position." We know the rest of the chapter of this story, which ended with the great Samoan hurricane; but it shows afresh how the Powers in touch with Germany found her always following a policy of duplicity, making promises, and at last forcing the situation in her favour if it could anyhow be managed.

Now what of Samoa as a group divided—a group that must remain divided if, and when, peace gives Great Britain, through New Zealand, continuance in possession of the German part? The answer to that question must be considered from more than one aspect;

but the main conclusion will remain undisturbed, that there should be little chance of friction between two Powers so closely linked by ties of friendship, kinship, and common interests. It is true that the United States to-day represent a different people from the Americans of President Cleveland's term, in that the German element has grown aggressive and, since the War, has added an incalculable factor to the general problem of international relationships. Moreover, we cannot feel sure that the mass of Latin and Slav immigrants will become assimilated in our time, nor that the great new nation will ever be as truly Anglo-Saxon in spirit as the old. The War has brought severe disappointments already, and Australia has not disguised her feelings about it. But she cannot forget the past; nor should she abandon the position that, as American and Australian interests in the Pacific were never really in conflict, they cannot in future create friction. As far as Samoa is concerned there ought to be no reason for apprehension, but every reason for amity and hearty co-operation. American ideals of service with the natives are practically our own, and the future should show that mutual benefit will arise by drawing more closely together. Moreover, the successful work-

ing of the Panama Canal must lead to a better understanding between the two countries. This is the genuine feeling of the majority of Australians, and when the War is over it will assert itself against the tendency to soreness now so apparent.

CHAPTER XVIII

CONCLUSIONS FOR CO-OPERATION

Internal problems—Possibilities of white occupation of tropical Australia—Failure of white man to adapt himself—Cooling a house !—A mine manager's views—Strike over lunches !—Chinese in the north—An aboriginal "reservation"—A race without a future—Now a drag upon civilisation ?—"Thinking black"—The business man's case—Co-operation the key.

AUSTRALIA'S education in matters relating to the Pacific, as will have been seen, has been proceeding steadily for at least half a century. Any one who cares to go through the files of Australian newspapers, even casually, during the last fifty years must be impressed with the space given to questions relating to the various island groups, comparatively so close but in many ways so far from the continent's sphere of influence; and certainly her statesmen have never ceased to take an interest in every phase of the development of the policy of Germany in the Pacific and elsewhere. Now that the War has opened a new chapter, it cannot,

therefore, be said that Australians are unready for larger responsibilities. But no one can discuss the position without realising that it will not do to expect too much. Australia and New Zealand are not afraid of responsibility, but they are passing through a difficult period in their own corporate experience. Australia especially is preoccupied. Internal politics are full of confusion; and the actual development of a great empty continent takes all the energies of the five million people fringing its coasts or scattered through its vast interior. Still, an apprenticeship in tropical possession and administration is being served. On the mainland it has been discovered that, through all the latitudes northward, the white man can work in the open without impairing his strength. At one time it was declared that no white man could be expected to work in Northern Queensland; and even Central Queensland was placed beyond the limit. To-day, indeed, there are people in New South Wales and Victoria who look upon Southern Queensland as in the tropics. But one decade after another has seen the white labour line pushed farther north; and now from the Northern Territory there are witnesses who show all the strength and virility of their British forebears, after a lifetime in country as

near the Equator as it is possible to get in the Commonwealth. This may not prove very much, however, because there are not enough white men anywhere in Australia, except in the great cities, where population has clotted. Nevertheless the evidence as far as it goes is reassuring; and able men like Sir William MacGregor have pointed out that, both in Northern Queensland and New Guinea, the health resources of the lands nearer the sun have never been properly exploited. Mountains and tablelands exist at considerable altitudes where nights are cold and where all the conditions of southern temperatures may be enjoyed. The Herberton tableland in Northern Queensland, for instance, can show European fruits and children with rosy cheeks; and as a sanatorium it should be invaluable. Yet residents still send their wives and children south at great expense; and their friends and relatives in Sydney and Melbourne are again impressed with the disadvantages of life in the north. In New Guinea, not far from the coast, the mountains offer change and new life with increasing altitude; and the white man will find his needed relief there as the country is opened up.

But all this may be interesting without promising a great deal. It may explain the

faith of the Labour Party in Australia, in white settlement for every part of the continent; but it does not show that the problems of the Pacific can be solved from that platform. Mr. Glynn, ex-Minister for External Affairs, when passing through Fiji recently on his way to Great Britain as one of the Parliamentary delegates from the Commonwealth, was asked his opinion upon the annexation of Fiji to Australia, and he said: "The Commonwealth has too many troubles on its hands already without looking for fresh ones. Our Government departments are getting unwieldy. The continual striving after centralisation which is apparent in the Labour Governments, where they apparently do not like officers to take the slightest responsibility on their own shoulders, is already having its effect by delaying development. Take the Northern Territory. That is steadily going backwards. In Papua the Deakin Ministry would have made a feature of development, but since the present Government have taken charge I understand that very little progress is being made. I think that Fiji would be well advised not to cry for annexation to Australia. I am not sure that Australia would for one moment consider such a proposal." This may be challenged, no doubt, by Labour

Ministers as the word of a political opponent; and they can certainly point to the work now being done in administering the affairs of Samoa and German New Guinea. Officers have been given full responsibility and ample powers under international law and the terms of capitulation; and they have "made good" under the most difficult conditions. They have proved what is possible when capable administrators are trusted and can think for themselves. The argument that the new Pacific may be largely controlled from Australia, therefore, finds support in their success. But it can hardly be contended that this is typical of Australian policy; and if this is the only attack upon it Mr. Glynn's position has not been upset. There is room, however, for the hope that, if Australia is called upon to enlarge her sphere of control, her Government will have learned something from its experiences in this war.

But what is the immediate lesson for Australia in the history of the last half-century? A nearly empty continent at the doors of Asia awaits development; and, as Mr. Hughes has recently said, there is room in it for a hundred million people, instead of the five millions at present in possession. But it is difficult to see how the million square miles north of the

Tropic of Capricorn can be profitably occupied by Europeans unless the conditions of Southern Europe and parts of Asia are studied, and their habits of domicile are adopted as far as possible; for the truth undoubtedly is that tropical Australia is still a hopeless problem to the average white man. He may thrive himself, and his wife and family may do fairly well under favourable conditions; but in the main he simply transports the life and habits of the temperate regions to the tropics. He does not understand the value of the siesta, the cool courtyard, the simple fare, and the adaptation of himself and his dependents to conditions of intense heat. He has, so far, defied the heat; and the result is to be seen in anaemic women and pallid children, as they exist along the coast in Northern Queensland. Upon the tablelands the conditions are more favourable, but even so the average white resident in the north of Australia has not yet learned to make the most of altitude. Thus the point is reached that if the white man is to populate tropical Australia he must accept the heat as Eastern peoples do, or give way to them if he cannot use them in co-operation. Sir Thomas McIlwraith once, in conversation with the writer, urged that with the new inventions

connected with refrigeration it ought soon to be as simple to cool a house as to heat it, and that he could see no reason why cold air should not be as much a commodity in the hot north as heat by coal and electricity in the regions of the continent nearer the Antarctic. But we are a long way off such a solution of Australia's tropical problems, and meanwhile students of the situation are asking again whether Asia or Southern Europe cannot be taken into partnership. The policy of a white Australia stands in the way, of course, and its general argument is unanswerable. But sooner or later the Commonwealth will have to show cause. Effective occupation is still a phrase with meaning in the world's categories; and the War is certainly going to bring many things into glaring prominence that were hidden in convenient shadows, because so much else was in the foreground.

Here, for instance, is the gist of a conversation with a mine manager from that wonderfully rich mineral belt back from Cairns in Northern Queensland. He had run down to Sydney for a short spell, after many months of exhausting responsibility, much of which represented the toil of getting men to work, or of keeping them at it. Strikes had been

fought or avoided, and at last a general settlement through the industrial courts seemed to have been reached. But apparently there can be no satisfactory end to these disputes. There is no finality in the decisions of such courts in Australia. The whole future is uncertain, for the workers are never satisfied. "Why should they be?" it may be asked. Can anything be considered settled in a world of flux? But at the moment of writing, a strike is on in one of the Northern Queensland ports, among the water-side workers, over the question of hot lunches for the men, and in absolute defiance of the awards under which they are working. The people living at that port depend upon these men's work on the steamers for their food, or for vital portions of it, and a famine has been threatened. It does not matter; nothing matters but the fight for concessions. The men have been offered hot lunches free by the companies if they will not break time, but the former demand the right to travel to their lunches, and insist on being paid for the time taken in doing so. This is not a mining dispute, though bound ultimately to affect mining; but it has been discussed as part of the general argument. What is the end of it all to be? The question was pressed by the

mine manager, because the whole of the future of Northern Queensland depends on the answer, and with it the fate of white settlement in a third of the continent. As a reasonable being, he can only see chaos ahead under existing conditions, and the death of settlement north of the Tropic of Capricorn. Fine mining propositions will have to be abandoned; the sugar industry itself, upon which so much depends, will disappear; and the Commonwealth will be open to attack at its most vulnerable point. He thought that at last the few people remaining in the north would have to go south.

The Australian nation will prove sufficient for this crisis, as it has already shown courage and resource for so many others, and the point is only offered to disclose an immediate dilemma. Let it be remembered that in the whole of Northern Australia at the present moment there is not one-twentieth of the total population of the Commonwealth. That is to say, a million square miles of country is carrying less than quarter of a million people—including a hundred thousand aboriginals. Is it any wonder that the pessimists grow gloomier as they think and talk of the future? Yet in this matter of an almost empty continent, with one-third of it in the tropics, there is going to be some hard thinking and

some equally decisive action sooner or later. It cannot be said that nothing has been attempted to solve the problem of the north. As already explained, much money has been spent at Port Darwin to discover whether the white man cannot live in the tropics and do a decent day's work; and it is not the present Federal Government's fault that so far the results have proved disappointing. Nothing has been spared, either in man power or in brain power, to obtain possession of the Northern Territory by the right of proved capacity to make the wilderness fruitful and the wide spaces of that part of the continent lying in the tropics a home for Europeans. Extraordinary concessions have, no doubt, been made to men who demand impossibilities from the point of view of finance and of fair play to the general taxpayer; and some of the things done or attempted are worthy of comic opera. But the idea behind has been thoroughly sound. An earnest anxiety has been moving Ministers to give the white worker in the tropics a chance, so that he may become a picket for the defence forces on the outposts of the continent. In this far north already there is a mixed population. The aboriginal Australian is still in evidence, as a matter of fact, and the Chinese are a factor in the daily life of a tropical

community. The latter not only raise bananas in Northern Queensland for the southern markets, behind a tariff wall which makes it difficult for planters in Papua and Fiji to compete, but they grow maize on the Atherton tableland and distribute it profitably under the same aegis. New Hebridean planters, tempted by Australia to try their luck in that group, could not get their maize into the Commonwealth; but the Chinese in the Commonwealth do very well, even when they have to pay heavy rents to white landowners before they can cultivate. It cannot be charged against the Chinese that they are unfairly competing against the white man. They entered the continent before Commonwealth laws closed the doors on all who could not pass a language test set by the authorities; and now they are inside they may fairly argue that they are entitled to make a living under the conditions laid down. Moreover, they are a law-abiding folk; and while the problem they represent for the white man is found in a different standard of life and comfort, they undoubtedly fill a gap with their market-gardening and intensive cultivation.

On the other side is the question of the surviving aboriginals. These still exist in fairly large numbers in the north; and while the tribes

in the south have disappeared, the northern blacks are comparatively numerous and in good condition. But what is to be done to preserve them? Mission stations are being subsidised by the Governments, protectors have been appointed to guard their interests, and public opinion is heartily with any effort to make life not only possible but profitable for them under the changed conditions. Yet the black fellow, like the Polynesian and Melanesian, cannot come in contact with the white man and prosper. He seems doomed to disappear, even where he lives in sparsely settled country, and though he may still be found in thousands in Northern Queensland. Stalwart men and well-formed women wander through the north, always to find that the land is not their own; and those who know them best are very much exercised as to what the future has in store for them. One of the shrewdest and sanest of white men living in Queensland to-day thinks that the present system could be greatly improved; and he takes his stand on principles tested in the islands of the Pacific by Sir William MacGregor, Dr. Brown, James Chalmers, Lorimer Fison, and many others. The mission stations are worked as asylums and schools, and the aboriginals are trained to live and think as the white man

decides, not as their own instincts dictate. The student of aboriginal life, habits, and customs, just mentioned, thinks that the natives could be given a stretch of country within which they should be kept inviolate, except as some capable and experienced white man was put in charge to watch over them. He would give the present missionaries full access to teach and spread the truths of Christianity; but he would as far as possible preserve to the aboriginal his free open life and gradually bring him into the closer relationship which civilisation demands. One reason for all this is offered in the fact that the average black fellow does not appear to understand the mission station. To many aboriginals, because their roving habits are repressed under its shadow, it seems to be a sort of penal establishment.

An instance is given of an aboriginal who was put in the witness-box to give evidence in the North Queensland Court. When he was asked if he knew what would happen to him if he did not tell the truth, he promptly replied that he would be sent to the mission station. This is not intended to voice an attack upon these stations, for they have been founded and carried on with as much genuine self-sacrifice and zeal as any of the stations in the Pacific. All

that is desired is to show how the whole question is attracting attention, and how the sympathetic observer is impressed. The case here outlined is stated by a man whose life has been lived among the natives, and who knows what they are capable of. He insists that they are specially suited for cattle station work, stock driving, and the handling of horses. If it were made possible for each male native to follow his bent in these details, and indeed if it were obligatory that his tuition should embrace this side of the white man's enterprise while his life was centred upon the special tract of country devoted to aboriginals, the cattle-raising industry of Northern Queensland would soon find wonderful reinforcement. Such is the general argument as stated by a student of aboriginal life in Australia who has no axe to grind; and it is indicated here to show how such complicated questions are being watched and discussed.

When drawing conclusions about the attitude of the people of Australia and New Zealand to the question of dealing with the native races, these things must be kept in mind. The white folk may be attacked, perhaps, by references to native troubles. It cannot be denied, for instance, that Australian aboriginals were hunted and ill-treated at the beginning of settlement, though

extenuating circumstances may be offered by way of excuse. The natives were treacherous, and attacked the white man frequently without provocation; and the history of the relations between black and white in Australia and Tasmania is not pleasant reading. As already indicated, in later years there has been every effort to help and civilise the black fellow. The public mind has been wakened to the importance of trying, at any rate, to understand him; for it is conceded that he is human, and after being ruthlessly cast out of his heritage has rights like the rest of us. He has been forced to give way to the civilised races, no doubt, because there is not room in this world for those who will not or cannot advance. The laws of nature are against them. But the people of Australasia have shown by their deeds as well as their words that they will do their duty by the unhappy survivors of a race that has no future.

This attitude towards native races has developed with a better appreciation of the position in the Pacific. Missionary enterprise has found strong support in Australia and New Zealand. The London Missionary Society, the Anglican Church Societies, the Roman Catholic orders, and the Methodist Missionary Society have been working for a century with the British centres as

rallying points; and the progress of their efforts has been followed with keen attention and prevalent sympathy. Australian sentiment has supported the endeavour to be fair to the natives everywhere, and to give them the benefits of a civilisation interpreted in higher terms than the sale of European commodities or the production of raw material for European markets. Hence British policy, where it has not been laggard or neglectful, has been understood and endorsed. Independent forceful administrators of high integrity, like Sir George Grey and Sir William MacGregor, have on appeal found the Australasian public strongly behind them; and the work of the latter able man, whether as first administrator in New Guinea or as Governor of Queensland, has called forth the highest encomiums. The people on the mainland have indeed been learning a double lesson. British policy, as expressed in the solicitude of a great nation for native rights, has not been misunderstood, but heartily accepted; and it only needs to be pointed out again that neither New Zealand nor Fiji was annexed to Great Britain, in the ordinary acceptation of the term. These possessions were ceded by the chiefs, and their cession is on record in documents that leave no doubt as to the nature of the bargain or agreement between the two races. The success of

administration in the hands of fearless and independent men in the past requires the reminder that Sir William MacGregor, for instance, while left free to work out his programme in New Guinea, was continually reporting to the Colonial Governments on the mainland, and was always subject to their criticism and control. But generally it is true that the public of Australasia does understand and appreciate the fact that the future of the Pacific lies in the adoption of a sound policy and in the right choice of men to carry it out.

Australasian missionary enterprise, in this respect, has been a force behind the Governments. It has co-operated with their representatives in the various groups and islands, and has prepared the way for white settlement. The problems before the Societies to-day are very different from those which emerged even half a century ago. The natives then were savage, and, where not cannibal, were sunk in bestiality and superstition. Even to-day the Solomons and New Guinea offer the same field for heroism that existed then; and one has only to read some of the chapters in *A Century in the Pacific*, a book recently published, to understand what is involved. It contains some human documents, and is full of appealing information. But, broadly,

the natives have accepted the fact of a future in which the white man and his civilisation have come to stay and must be reckoned with. They are in process of being civilised. Education, real and fruitful, is being carried on; and in Fiji the schools right through the group are still largely in the hands of Methodist missionaries and native teachers. Here it is that the new problems are appearing. The native in Fiji, New Guinea, and the Solomons has been assured in the possession and occupation of his lands, but he is in danger of developing into a liability and not an asset. He threatens to become a drag upon civilisation and not an additional force behind it. He is prevented from carrying on the war game, which of old kept him healthy and athletic, and now is refusing to work for more than sustenance in climates where the least exertion gives plenty of food. How is he to be made to work, if not for himself in supplying new wants under new conditions, then for the white man who cannot do without him? How is he to be made helpful to himself and to others? As has been noted, the new idea in missionary enterprise is to carry education right round the circle and equip the native as planter, carpenter, or as an efficient worker in whatever trade or line of activity he may choose. But this may mean competition

with the white man. It certainly involves the investment of much capital, and the piling up of additional serious responsibilities for the missionary.

There is still considerable division of opinion as to what is best to be done. Dr. George Brown has no misgivings when asked what is to happen when the islander is shown the value of his lands by actual cultivation and the harvesting of profitable crops. Even when reminded that the natives vastly outnumber the white men in all the groups he is not afraid to say that he can trust the former. It is still, on the one side, a matter of character and experience—matured in the European—and, on the other, of the beginnings of a new life—as with childhood in the native races. If the white man by treating the brown man fairly, and by recognising his rights to brotherhood under our common Christianity, cannot face the future with confidence, then he deserves to go under; because he will go under in any case. He really holds the native in the hollow of his hand. To some extent he is like a father with children to train; and like a wise father he must not hamper immediate activity and discipline by thinking of a possible future when the children will have grown up and made homes for themselves.

This is the missionary's position in the South Seas. He has come through much tribulation. He has given his life again and again for the native; and he has learned to "think black" in the process of saving and serving him. Now, with the definite policy of the British Government to point to, he realises that what was accomplished yesterday is only a step towards great things to-day and far greater things to-morrow. He does not believe in pampering or over-civilising the native. Chalmers used to declare that to dress the native in the white man's clothes was as bad as selling or giving him the white man's alcohol. Lorimer Fison on one occasion had to protest strongly against the proposals of his Mission Board in Sydney to make a present of a suit of clothes to a native teacher who had risked his life in a great storm to save the mission vessel. Fison remarked that he had just preached a sermon denouncing to ambitious Fijians the wearing of trousers! All the real leaders of missionary enterprise have taken this stand. As this position is studied and criticised Australasian opinion is being formed; and in the main it is sympathetic and helpful. But this does not by any means admit that Australian Governments as at present constituted can find either the time or the statesmanship for

further rule in the Pacific. The question may be left for the present; but it cannot be dismissed by reference to any great or masterful achievements in island rule during the last decade of Australian history. All that may be urged is that the Australian character is a peculiarly resourceful one. It can rise to a great occasion; and the signs are not wanting that even the demands of a new Pacific will not find it fail at the supreme moment.

Finally, the position of the white man who is neither administrator nor missionary demands a word. He has a strong case. He does not ask for sympathy, but he does insist upon fair play; and he feels that in the settlement of the Pacific his interests tend to become the sport of mere officialism on the one side and of misdirected missionary enterprise on the other. The official mind too often does not understand business, and it has no patience with those who are thinking of better ways of conducting it and who would discuss short cuts to higher profits. The missionary also is usually a man of single mind running in narrow grooves—such is the allegation—and he and the trader have always been at loggerheads. Moreover, the missionary, the official, and the trader have consistently fought a triangular duel, except when the two

former have combined against the latter. This, briefly, is the position of the business man and investor whose enterprise and persistence have made the Pacific a highway, whose money has begun to turn waste island lands into gardens, and who only asks fair play in regard to labour and labour conditions in order to build a mighty empire within the Empire, in the ocean which promises to become the world's balancing centre in the near future. It must be admitted that there is a great deal of truth in the general contention. All that can be said in reply is that men such as the nine whose names have been given special prominence in this book have never denied rights to the trader and the business man, and have always tried to co-operate with them. Missionaries like George Brown, Lorimer Fison, and James Chalmers have found their warmest friends among the shrewd people of commerce and island trade, among planters and small settlers, and nearly always among the strong men behind who govern finance and control large investments. To both sets of enterprise success has come in co-operation and not in opposition. Governors like Sir George Grey and Sir William MacGregor have never disguised their need of help from business men; and they have constantly urged the world of

commerce to study their spheres of duty and responsibility from the point of view of development and investment. Co-operation, then, is the key-word. It must be the motto for a New Pacific.

APPENDIX A

AUSTRALIAN TRADE, 1913

With	Imports.	Exports.	Totals.
	£	£	£
United Kingdom . .	47,615,561	34,804,548	82,420,109
British Possessions .	9,903,804	9,457,263	19,361,067
Foreign Countries .	22,230,288	34,309,958	56,540,246
Totals .	79,749,653	78,571,769	158,321,422
Germany	4,956,834	6,873,441	11,830,275
Fiji	570,550	424,155	994,705
New Zealand . .	2,513,934	2,356,990	4,870,924
Papua	90,392	137,287	227,679
Other British Possessions	299,650	105,190	404,840
Bismarck Archipelago—Hawaiian Islands, New Caledonia, New Hebrides, and South Sea Islands .	207,371	683,122	890,493

APPENDIX B

PAPUAN TRADE, 1909–10 TO 1913–14

Particulars.	1909–10.	1910–11.	1911–12.	1912–13.	1913–14.
	£	£	£	£	£
Imports . .	120,177	202,910	235,369	218,323	212,134
Exports . .	100,599	117,410	99,990	128,016	123,140
Total Trade .	220,776	320,320	335,359	346,339	335,274

EIGHT YEARS' PROGRESS IN PAPUA

Subject.	Year ended June 30.	
	1907.	1914.
White population	690	1,186
Native labourers employed (not Crown servants)	2,000	11,383
Number of white civil servants . .	65	119
Armed constabulary	185	293
Village constables	401	565
Territorial revenue	£21,813	£54,704
Territorial expenditure	£45,335	£81,095
Value of imports	£87,776	£212,134
Value of exports	£63,756	£123,140
Area under lease (acres)	70,512	230,879
Tonnage ocean-going vessels entered and cleared	159,177	358,506
Area of plantations	1,467	42,921
Meteorological stations established .	3	18
Gold yield (ounces)	16,103	14,666
Copper ore shipped (tons)	137	1,150

These statistics are taken from the *Official Year-Book of the Commonwealth of Australia*, No. 8, 1901–1914, pp. 965-967.

APPENDIX C

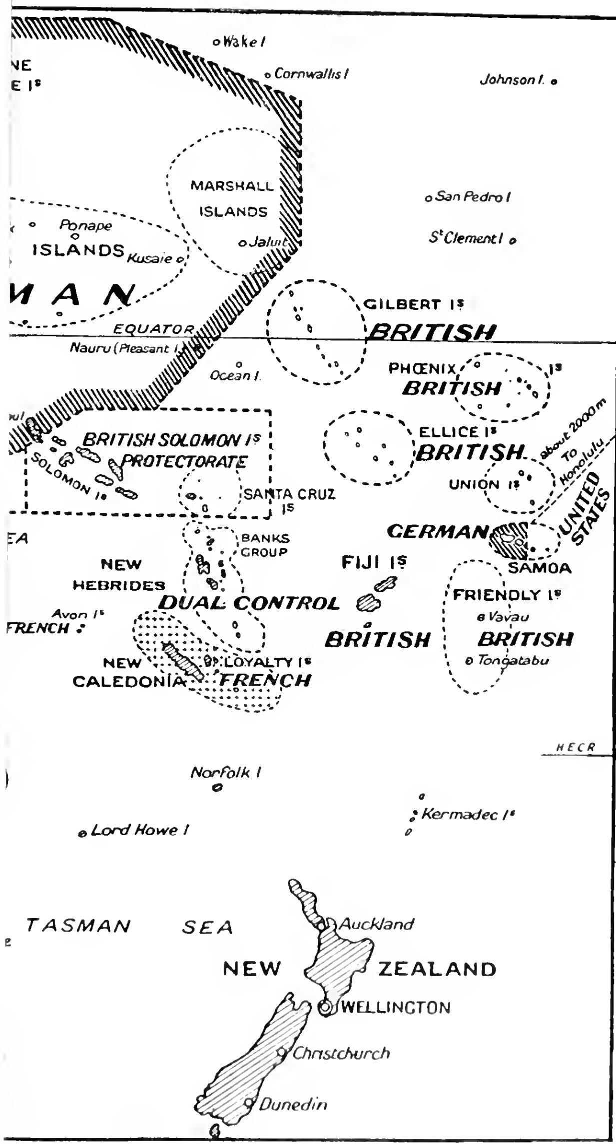
GERMAN PACIFIC TRADE

	Imports.	Exports.	Totals.
1911–12.			
Bismarck Archipelago—Solomon and Kaiser-Wilhelmsland . .	£ 264,936	£ 205,471	£ 470,407
East Carolines and Marshalls	86,473	313,559	400,032
West Carolines, Pelew, and Marianne Islands .	49,331	82,312	131,643
1912–13.			
Bismarck Archipelago—Solomon and Kaiser-Wilhelmsland . .	285,262	252,055	537,317
East Carolines and Marshalls	98,131	258,184	356,315
West Carolines, Pelew, and Marianne Islands .	68,629	94,100	162,730

APPENDIX D

GERMAN TRADE WITH AUSTRALIA

	Imports from Australia.	Exports to Australia.	Totals.
1911–12.			
Bismarck Archipelago—Solomon and Kaiser-Wilhelmsland . .	£ 66,261	£ 28,888	£ 95,149
East Carolines and Marshalls	43,021	121,729	164,750
West Carolines, Pelew, and Marianne Islands .	9,773	8,220	17,993
			£277,892
1912–13.			
Bismarck Archipelago—Solomon and Kaiser-Wilhelmsland . .	94,720	20,512	115,232
East Carolines and Marshalls	59,060	93,360	152,420
West Carolines, Pelew, and Marianne Islands .	15,597	15,406	31,003
			£298,655



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UNITED STATES
BRITISH SOLOMON Is
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DUAL CONTROL
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Auckland
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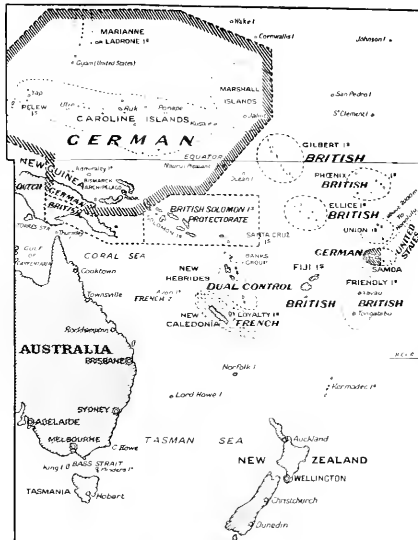
WELLINGTON
Christchurch
Dunedin



MARIANNE
OR LADRONE IS
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Ocean I
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UNION IS
UNITED STATES
GULF OF CARPENTARIA
CORAL SEA
BANKS GROUP
GERMAN
SAMOA
Cooktown
NEW HEBRIDES
FIJI IS
DUAL CONTROL
FRIENDLY IS
Townsville
FRENCH
BRITISH
BRITISH
Tongatabu
NEW CALEDONIA
LOYALTY IS
FRENCH
Rockhampton
AUSTRALIA
BRISBANE
Norfolk I
Kermadec Is
Lord Howe I
SYDNEY
ADELAIDE
TASMAN SEA
MELBOURNE
C Howe
Auckland
BASS STRAIT
King I
Flinders I
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TASMANIA
Hobart
Christchurch
Dunedin

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